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23 December 1983

SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA REPORT

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PRESIDENT DOS SANTOS ON TASKS OF PEOPLE'S VIGILANCE BRIGADES

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 15 Nov 83 pp 1, 8

[Text of address by President Jose Eduardo dos Santos, at the ceremony inaugurating the Fourth People's Vigilance Brigade, of Samba Municipio, in Luanda on 13 November 1983]

[Text] On Sunday in Luanda, in his capacity as a deputy, Jose Eduardo dos Santos, president of the MPLA-Labor Party and of the People's Republic of Angola, attended the inauguration of the Fourth Brigade, Section B, Samba Municipio, of the People's Vigilance Brigades (BPV), the mass organization whose function is the defense of public property.

As the People's Assembly deputy for the Samba zone of activity, President dos Santos delivered an address, which appears [below], in which he wished the brigade members success and stressed the importance of the BPV in improving public safety. He appealed to the Party Youth and to the mass organizations to take part in seeing that popular vigilance is really strengthened.

Similar ceremonies were held on Saturday and Sunday in the Lixeira, Kílamba, Kiáxi and Catambor districts, which were also led by high party officials, namely, comrades Juliao Mateus Paulo (Dino) Matross, Andre Pitra (Petrof) and Alexandre Rodrigues (Kito), all members of the Central Committee.

On Saturday, in Maianga Municipio, Comrade Lucio Lara, Central Committee secretary for organization, said that the principles which guided the creation of the BPV are broad and meet the interests of the people.

"Our Great Mission Is Education"

In the ceremony inaugurating the first BPV brigade in Samba Municipio, Comrade President Jose Eduardo dos Santos delivered the following address:

Comrade Kimba, member of the Political Bureau, Coordinator of the Luanda Provincial Committee, Luanda Province Commissioner and Minister of Provincial Coordination;

Comrade members of the Executive Commission of the Luanda Provincial Committee;

Comrade party and government officials of Samba Municipio;

Comrades of the Party Youth and mass organizations;

Comrade brigade members;

We are ending our inauguration ceremony and our presentation of the first members of the Samba Municipio brigade. Before I go on with my speech, I would like to congratulate the comrade brigade members who have just been introduced here and to wish them much success, much courage and determination in carrying out this mission which has now been entrusted to them by our party, by the state and by the people of Samba Municipio.

Your task will not be easy. Even here, in this small gathering which does not include all the residents of this municipio, we note that many questions have been asked. The questions were answered. Some doubts remained, but from the replies offered by Comrade Kimba, of the Political Bureau, the comrades could understand the magnitude and the great number of tasks and problems which the People's Vigilance Brigades must assist in solving.

Since our independence, we have created various organizations, various institutions, in short, various structures. These structures today are filled by party members, members of the mass organizations and by citizens, so that we may solve our problems.

The comrades and countrymen know that sometimes we are not satisfied with the results of the work of some organizations or institutions which we have created, and that on several occasions the party leadership has criticized the lack of dynamism, the lack of political courage, the lack of total commitment by individuals in these organizations, in the structures we have created to solve the problems.

Now we are creating another structure, another broad organization, a very large organization of the masses. We want this organization which we are inaugurating today to work.

An organization cannot function unless its members, the people who play a part in that organization, are fully aware of their duties and responsibilities, and unless they have the courage, the energy, the strength to carry out the commitments which they have assumed. The comrade brigade members took an oath; everyone heard them. We must try to live up to this oath in practice--therefore, to live up to the commitment we made. This is a primary recommendation. In other words, do not allow what we are creating here to die.

The initial sacrifice [sic] was made in thinking about the regulations, in thinking about the type of organization. The comrades of the municipio did the initial work of preparation. They selected the brigade members. Today we are holding this ceremony. We hope it is not in vain and that this can in fact be a secure foundation for us to carry out our goal, that is, what we seek to accomplish with the establishment of the People's Vigilance Brigades. And despite the difficulties which we are still experiencing in the country, which all the comrades are familiar with, it is possible to work. In fact, we can only overcome these difficulties by working harder and harder.

For example, Samba Municipio has various problems. The comrades have pointed out some of them. They said, for instance, that the work of the ODP [People's Defense Organization] must be dynamized, the work of the ODP must be improved. We know that the ODP has its organization here, because it is necessary to insure the defense of the municipio. We must begin to insure that some of the individuals who will be performing tasks of vigilance, defense and internal order will be armed, to confront the gangs who are committing armed robbery, destroying the schools, and so on.

we have taken note of this concern which the comrades have expressed here. This means we must work with the leadership of the ODP (there is an ODP Provincial Command, there are ODP defense committees) to find out what the problems are, because, in the end, we see that if the brigades are to function, the ODP detachments in the municipio must be organized in such a way as to guarantee armed protection. This is one example of a problem that must be solved, but there are others. In Samba Municipio, for example, they told us that at the beginning of last year about 2,000 children had no school to attend. About 2,000 children could not go to school because there was no space for them. This year the number should be even greater because our population is growing year by year and the number of school-aged children is also increasing. In other words, although two schools have been built here in Samba Municipio, the problem is still not completely solved.

However, we know that when the inhabitants of this municipio are better organized, such tasks as school construction, the creation of garden plots and green zones, can be accomplished. This means that the new comrade brigade members will have to be very dynamic.

We know that the brigade will grow in numbers, that the municipio is large, but that, in growing, it will not lose, let us say, its efficiency, its ability to solve the problems.

Samba Municipio is very large. Today, for example, in this municipio as in others, we are struggling against speculation. Everyone in our country today wants to be a businessman. And everywhere--on the farms, in the streets. Things are not being sold just in the shops or in the markets; people are selling things everywhere. Some even try to do it in government offices, which is not right. We have the stores, and anyone who wants to be a merchant should do his vending in an establishment. If a person wants to be a produce vendor, he should do this in the market. (There are the municipal markets or locations authorized by the commission.) However, it is not just this--this is not speculation--but things are being sold at very high prices, prices not permitted by the state. Things are being sold everywhere and at very high prices. The people almost always know who is doing it, but no one says anything. In other words, it is an evil which we are all aware of, that hurts all of us, but we allow it to go on. People think: "If we were to report that speculator tomorrow, there won't be anything here to buy...it is better to let it go."

But is this the proper attitude? Can all of us in Angola be speculators? Do we want a land of speculators of a nation of workers?

There is the problem of wages. How will wages go far enough if things are being sold for such high prices? The two things are connected; naturally, wages will not go far enough if we sell things for very high prices.

If the authorized prices established by the government were observed everywhere, the money would still not go far enough, but we could buy a lot more than we can buy now at speculative prices. So speculation is a serious problem. It must be combated, because as long as there is speculation, wages and income will never be adequate. Incomes will always be low because the opportunists who sell things at speculative prices will go on getting rich at the expense of the workers.

This is a problem. It is not a small problem. Today it is a very big problem, but we must face up to it.

Therefore, we are creating these Popular Vigilance Brigades to help us solve this problem. Incomes are not very large, we are not producing very much, and if we are not honest, we will fall into a vicious circle from which we cannot escape.

Obviously, this problem of speculation could be solved to a great extent if we worked harder at production. This is a fact. And here in Samba Municipio we have seen that small farms, small truck gardens are springing up. I do not know who is overseeing this. We have already seen banana trees here, plantations that are coming up in the direction of Barra do Kwanza.

It is good that the countrymen are producing, taking their products to the markets and selling them at the normal established prices, not hurting the other workers, the ones in the factories, companies and public services, that they are not greedily trying to get rich in a day, or in 3 or 4 months, and then spend their vacation in Portugal. They know that it is necessary to help solve the problems that are affecting all of us at this time and to do it in an honest way, with a strong sense of patriotism.

Therefore, we feel it is right to produce, to produce more and more, to organize in cooperatives, to have small farm plots, but all of this should be within the law, with the authorization of the commission, and with sales in locations which have been authorized by the commission.

When this does not happen, the comrade brigade members must take action, the comrade policemen must take action, and so on.

But these are not the only problems; there are still others. There is the problem of trash. We all know that garbage is not good for our health. We have problems with organizing the commissions; we lack means of transport; we do not have many garbage trucks and when we purchase them we do not have the skilled mechanics to maintain them. In situations like this, we must look for the simplest means of solving the problem.

For example, in the small villages, there is not much money; there are no garbage trucks or containers. But there are villages which are clean because the people in these areas burn their refuse or bury it. Here in the city, people have gotten into the habit of throwing trash everywhere. The city should be cleaner because the people have access to more information. They are in a capital, where they can meet with people of various origins, from many countries. They have television, radio, the movies, so the people are better informed, they have new information. But here in the city, the people are not solving this problem. Why aren't they burning their trash? Why aren't they burying their garbage? Containers and garbage trucks are not the answer to the problem. It is necessary to explain, to educate the people, to educate the young pioneers not to throw paper on the ground.

The brigade comrades should also help to solve the problem. We must educate our people, or rather, we should work to see that our people keep their good habits. We must combat negligence, the "let it go" attitude, and so on. This is one example of a problem, but there will be many others. However, I don't want to bore the comrades by going on. I know that Samba Municipio is large; it has a large population, and if we work hard we can bring many other citizens of this municipio along with us.

Two schools have been built. This is not enough. We must organize our young pioneers and make them feel they are living in an independent country. They must be enlisted. They must have uniforms (and our factories are already able to produce uniforms for the young pioneers). We saw this during the games which were held here in the Caculinhas de Bola stadium. Everyone was in uniform and they were all well equipped, and almost everything was produced locally.

So we can enlist all our young people in the municipio in the pioneers. We can dress our pioneers in uniforms and we can educate them in the new spirit of our revolution so that, in the future, they will feel that they are true patriots and will work to make our country great.

We have the OMA [Organization of Angolan Women]. There are many women in the municipio. The OMA must try to enlist all the women in the municipio, and we can also manage to obtain the fabric to make the uniforms. We must enlist more and more people, because the people must be organized to do political work, to do educational work, and so on. And in this area of education, there is not just illiteracy, but other aspects with which we can be concerned, even beginning with our songs. We can enlist more comrades in the OMA--if not 100 percent of the women in the municipio, let us say at least 50 percent, or 60 percent. And this is possible to achieve. At one time the churches managed to do this. The Protestant Church did this. It enlisted the women. Today we are independent; we no longer base our work on religion. Our vision is much broader. The OMA can admit women of all faiths, Catholics, Protestants, and so on. So the number of members could be increased greatly and they could help to overcome other problems: the clothing shortage, all the other problems.

There is the problem of the youth. There are many young people in Samba Municipio, Are all of them enlisted? Does the JOTA committee have control of 50 percent of the young people in this municipio? Do these young people have tasks assigned to them in their municipio? What problems are they helping to solve?

I think we must bring up the problems so they can be solved. It is not just a question of sports. There are many young people here, and it looks to me as if they enjoy sports. For example, on Saturday and Sunday I saw people playing games, primarily soccer, on that field (and here, as well).

But if we enlist our young people, we cannot limit ourselves to promoting sports. We must organize other types of activities, cultural performances, folk dances, songs.

So I think we have a lot of work to do. As Comrade Kimba said, the tasks of the brigades are numerous; they are broad. Naturally, the brigades will play their part well if all the support structures and the leadership function well. If our Party Municipal Committee functions well, if the structures of the mass organizations--the OMA, for example--function well, if the structures of the Party Youth function well, the work of the brigades will be easier, because these comrades will be supporting the work of the brigades.

Because our great mission is not just to control but to educate the people. People must understand what the problems are, what paths we must follow to solve these problems, and after this is done, then we can sanction those who do not want to follow the advice and the paths that were outlined and accepted by all of us.

I have come to the end of my speech. I leave the comrades with some recommendations and some points to reflect on. We have taken note of the questions that were brought up regarding the neighborhood commissions and how they will be coordinated with the brigades, questions about the ODP and the police and how they will cooperate with the Popular Vigilance Brigades, and other questions which we are going to study. I think that, in practice, as Comrade Kimba said, we will arrive at solutions to all these problems.

The most important thing is to begin our work with determination and courage, and I wish the comrade brigade members great success and good work.

The Struggle Continues!

Victory Is Certain!

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ANGOLA

MILITARY SITUATION ANALYZED IN INTERNATIONAL CONTEXT

Lisbon O DIA in Portuguese 21 Nov 83 pp 3, 22

[Article by Nuno Rogeiro: "A Dream Called Angola, Part IV"]

[Text] An interpretation of the world of dreams sees it as a place of flight from reality, where all the known rules are changed and where imaginary events are very often the exact opposite of actual experiences. In this sense, there is a volitional element here although it is not totally revealed to us but that element is busy building an alternative to the present. While we would like to cover this aspect only, we must keep in mind that Angola was and is a waking dream.

Earlier we talked sufficiently about those for whom Africa was only a big commercial warehouse; for centuries they defended the simple establishment of trading posts along the coast and they only accepted the exploration and urbanization of the Angolan interior when the big European colonial powers began to exemplify the method of utilizing overseas colonies by the Western home countries, with the maximization of the yield from all raw materials. For those who were blacks during the 18th century and for the enthusiastic supporters of federalist neocolonialism during the 20th century, the dream boiled down to a balanced budget and a marketing plan.

We also said something about the paternalist, ahistorical and therefore unsuitable view of realities which led to a do-nothing attitude in running the government and which found satisfaction in conservatism and patriotic rhetoric; trying to govern Angola as it was governed in 1800, in the middle of the 20th century, with frontiers coming down all over the world, or insisting on the tired old arguments of the "white man's burden," a kind of myth about the good savage, as seen from the other side of the mirror, ignoring the miscegenational and original potentials of the oldest political community on the European continent; sticking to a "golden age" that was over and done with, without even understanding that it existed because at that time it was betting on the future--all that could only generate disastrous consequences.

The dream here was like a museum, exiled from the passage of time, a museum of real men and real life.

But above all we are talking here about those who lived and died to build a more grandiose vision than that of the enthusiasm-generating old utopias of

vital force, of the spirit of sacrifice; they are well represented among the little merchants from Minho, who settled in Maquela do Zombo, Noqui, or Ambrizete, among the workers who exchanged their jobs in the coffee plantations for the defense of Teixeira de Sousa, Nova Lisboa, and Silva Porto; among the rough truck drivers who drove through areas infested by armed bands, among the haughty Cuanhamas who proved to be one of the best elite forces in the world, among the city cab drivers who worked until the end of the morning in Luanda, among the inexperienced boys who had come for adventure from the other side of the sea and who watched their sons and grand-sons grow, so often a product of considerable ethnic mixing, in Cazage or Moxico.

This spirit was awake in the journalist who wrote this in a Luanda daily: "We, the Portuguese, are not whites"; and it is alive in all those who turned Angola into a miracle of growth, worthy of accommodating the political capital of a block that would be an alternative to the new forms of imperialism, baptized in the ashes of World War II. That dream did not die because dreams simply do not die; it merely lost one of its forms of implementation through the elimination of some "objective conditions."

A Question of International Law

International recognition of the Angolan state came after 1975, at the end of the first civil war which sprang from the hasty action of the political establishment in Lisbon. This recognition was given in keeping with the so-called "Estrada doctrine" which sprang up in Mexico early in this century; in recognizing the government in Luanda, the various countries did not ask any questions about the way in which that regime would be set up, nor did they discuss its "legality." They confined themselves to producing a declaration and establishing de facto relations. In this way, the United States acted far from the Wilsonian tradition and the Stimson doctrine by virtue of which Americans reserved themselves the right not to recognize governments derived from an "illegal" application of armed force.

Of course, this position, derived from the so-called Tobar doctrine of 1907 and popularized, as a principle of international law, after the Briand-Kellogg Pact, was in practice expressed in an imposition of the United States ideological perspective on the entire world, to the effect that only those states were considered "legal" that sprang from the formal democratic mechanism, such as it was conceived by the Anglo-Saxons.

Recognition of the MPLA regime was thus based not on that idealistic and paternal position but rather on a proclaimed principle of noninterference in the external affairs of states; for better or worse, the men in Luanda had won the war and had conquered power. It only remained to recognize that absolute fact.

At this point however we come to two objections of diverse meaning; first of all, many of the governments that recognized the new state, which had been conquered by force and with foreign aid, in the name of "realism," always criticized the Portuguese "colonial presence," arguing that it boiled down to police and military repression. Starting in 1950, with the Bandung and Accra

conferences, with the winds of "decolonization," and the obsession with an end to "Eurocentrism," the members of the UN approached Portugal from the Stimson perspective; after "exemplary decolonization," the inverse Estradist argument rendered good service.

But while this only helps to demonstrate the amoral and changing character of international relations, and since it does not help much to come up with thundering judgments, there is already a second aspect which deserves greater attention.

The truth is that, even within a "realistic approach, which does not try to make its judgment depend on the recognition of the fact that the new state is a police state or respects the laic or parochial, pacifist or martial consciences, there does exist a basic problem in relation to Angola and the MPL: The issue of territorial sovereignty and of the internal military situation.

At the end of 1975, with the support of the Cuban contingent, tanks, and aircraft, the FAPLA [People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola] could not consider themselves the masters of Angolan soil, exercising effective control only along the coast, in Cabina, and in certain strips in the center. That is a fact. The situation deteriorated rapidly thereafter when the MPLA was definitely kicked out of the Southeast and parts of the North and with the establishment of major UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] bases in Cuando Cubango, a daily way of life was beginning to develop that was alien to the uses and customs, the laws and the armed force of the regime in Luanda.

The international community thus seems rather prematurely to have recognized a regime which, even in terms of actual facts, does not govern effectively since it was able to win a battle but did not win the war. A good way to correct this error of evaluation would today be to treat the forces of Savimbi at least as a belligerent party in a "proper war" (in the technical sense).

It is, by the way, for this recognition that UNITA is fighting on the diplomatic front and it seems to be close to attaining this objective above all taking into account the more favorable position of some governments in NATO, such as the United States, the FRG, and Great Britain. Various movement leaders have noted that Portugal's position can be vital above all because UNITA is a viable platform of Portuguese-speaking culture, far removed from cosmopolitan Marxism and quite the opposite of the MPLA and the racism and lack of preparedness on the part of the FNLA [Angolan National Liberation Front].

After MPLA, What?

Nothing is therefore to be gained by officially maintaining, in Lisbon, a position of hostility toward this powerful enemy of the Cubans who is not a simple puppet of Washington policy, an image only too easily fabricated by some media. We must not forget that, on the one hand, several United States companies are interested in Angolan petroleum exploitation, preferring to pay "protection money" to the Cuban detachments and millions of dollars in royalties

to the MPLA, rather than risking their profit-making capacity in the defense of a cause that is alien to them; on the other hand, the United States does not have appreciable African experience which is why it lacks a coordinated action program for the continent which goes beyond economic aid. With or without aid, UNITA is making progress in the field and is becoming a respectable conversation partner; it will even have surpassed the state--as expected by many people--in which it would confine itself to Balkanizing Angola, creating a buffer state in the south, possibly well-received by South Africa.

Even in Luanda, the MPLA itself can no longer conceal the seriousness of the situation which until a short time ago it was only too easy to blame on the South African army. Factions are again springing up in the party, divided as to the inevitability of seeking an understanding with Savimbi; this accord however has as its essential condition the departure of the Cubans, that is to say, the rejection of Soviet hegemony in the area. The dominant structure in the MPLA is not ready to take that step since its power precisely resides in the Russian-Cuban military machine that defends the cities and the most important industrial areas; this is why Eduardo dos Santos was forced publicly to deny any possibility of an agreement, predicting the boost in the Cuban contingent which he thought he could see happen by virtue of the major advances of UNITA along the shore.

It is therefore quite possible that the MPLA might fall apart especially if its enemies achieve the neutralization of the Cuban contingent. A UNITA official even said that, after all foreign soldiers have been withdrawn Luanda could fall more easily than Saigon, after the evacuation of the American GI's.

Regardless of whether this happens sooner or later, it would always be good for Portugal to begin to review its attitude by not confusing the need for maintaining a bridge to Africa with interference, on the side of the MPLA, in a real war of invasion against the occupier. The consolidation of a Portuguese-speaking zone, which would bring viability to the existence of its components and which would preserve a common history, can come about only if the so-called "new Portuguese-speaking countries" manage to liberate themselves from the bonds of vassalage in relation to the superpowers. Lisbon should thus look only kindly upon the advance of UNITA. Above all it should understand that there is more extra-European, universal blood and culture here, at home, than there is racial affinity and common interest with the Walloons, with the Anglo-Saxons, the Germans, the Britons, the Biscayers, and the Basques.

There should be pride in this universal heritage. The calm pride of the person who does not feel that he or she belongs to a chosen race but only to a people naturally capable of dialectically synthesizing a diverse and complex cultural contribution. Demanding the recognition of the right to being different, in relation to the traditional colonial powers, is an important effort in our domestic liberation. This effort enables us once again to dream of Angola, not as a race of lords and masters that would recapture slaves or vassals, but as a lost tribe that again found its forgotten brothers.

WAR-RAVAGED ECONOMY NEEDS BETTER POLICY

Lisbon O DIA in Portuguese 21 Nov 83 p 3

[Article by N.R.: "The Stigmas of War"]

[Text] In spite of 9 years of guerrilla war and terrorist actions, the per-capita income in Angola was estimated at \$177 in 1970. The statistics published in 1981-1982 indicate a GNP on the order of \$2.66 billion, pointing to a tremendous drop in the per-capita income which today does not exceed \$44 (even if we do not take into account the population increase over a period of 11 years and the fluctuations on the foreign exchange market).

The stagnating situation in civilian construction and urban development in general, the underutilization of support facilities (especially ports), the diversion of resources to the payment of the large Cuban contingent, the decline in education, the flight of the people from combat areas, and the resultant agricultural and population crisis, the drain of technical cadres (not compensated for by the "advisors" from the East who are rather little up-to-date on their technology)--these add up to a picture of factors that can explain the drop in productivity and the financial near-collapse which only the sale of petroleum and diamonds can compensate.

Angola is a country occupied by various armies and it is a pawn in the new cold war which followed the American defeat in Vietnam. Under these conditions, it can only be a theater of war in which the superpowers invest only as a strategic advantage. In the meantime, this vast territory of southern Africa was an expanding giant as of 25 April 1974.

Looking at the situation merely from the economic angle, one can say that Angolan development was held back by three factors: Shortage of capital use, shortages of specialized personnel, instability on the fighting fronts. But this last problem was practically resolved in 1974 and some estimates seem to indicate that the three guerrilla movements were broken up, beaten in the field, incapable of mobilizing more than 2,000 fightingmen among themselves (this weakness was furthermore manifested during the period following the ceasefire when the various factions were incapable of achieving supremacy) of which only 600 were active in the MPLA and which were, even so, split by the revolt of Daniel Chipenda. As for the capitalization of the province, it could be given dynamic impetus only through the pacification of the territory, a factor which would reassure investors. The effort in the field of education developed at a

good pace and the influx of capital could bring about greater development of higher education facilities.

In a brief sketch one could say consequently that the situation was favorable above all if one managed to take the steps toward the redefinition of the "overseas" policy on more realistic foundations which would assign to Africa the role of lever of everything Portuguese and if the colonial and neocolonial approaches were to be dropped. Last year, McNamara said in Pretoria that, as far as the Africans are concerned, "there is no alternative to the conquest of political power." This is partly true and we understand that the areas, of which a great mobilization in human and material resources is demanded, are aspiring to civic maturity. This is why developments in Portugal should tend toward assigning to Angola a role of leadership, of political responsibility as was advocated in the first article in this series.

Only the equalization of the various parts of the territory, the abandonment of notions of "home country" and "overseas," could in the end prevent the temptations of a merely technocratic federalism or of hasty and heedless decolonization. This would require a tremendous psychological effort, much more so than a financial and military effort; but it is in the grand causes and tasks that one finds the ingredient capable of mobilizing the people in times of crisis.

If this historical hypothesis is lost, we would be left with the stigmas of a foreseeable war. A war that is all the more cruel, but ironically cruel, since it is true that totally altered international circumstances could have prevented that war today. In other words, if Lisbon had been patient and had waited and above all if it had had the courage to act.

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CSO: 3442/62

THREE UNITA FIGHTERS SURRENDER TO FAPLA

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 13 Nov 83 p 13

[Text] Benguela--Three fellow citizens, who served in the armed band of the puppets, recently with their weapons reported to a sub-unit of the FAPLA [People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola] in the region of Uku Seles, Province of Southern Kwanza, because, as they said, they realized that "UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] is nothing but a band, armed and supplied with ammunition by South Africa to cause death and destruction in the People's Republic of Angola."

As ANGOP [ANGOLAN PRESS AGENCY] was informed, one of the outposts of the sub-unit of the FAPLA during the early morning hours sighted the group led by Quartim Pinto, 25, approaching toward its position, with weapons held high while shouting: "Please do not shoot. We escaped from UNITA and we want to surrender with our weapons."

After the necessary precautions had been taken, the group, by now disarmed, informed the sub-unit leader that it was surrendering of its own free will because its members did not in fact understand why they were fighting, nor what they were doing. They said that the offensive carried out by the FAPLA at this time is completely destroying the armed bands.

"To Kill All the People"

The three fellow citizens, specifically, Quartim Pinto, Antonio Jaime, 32, and Cassessa Cambandi, 34, were then sent on to the city of Sumbe and were turned over to the authorities.

The team of reporters from ANGOP who accompanied the chairman of the Seventh Regional Military Council on his visit to the Province of Southern Kwanza met them there. The three of them were sitting down, having their lunch. Quartim Pinto was the youngest in the group and it was he who had encouraged the others to escape from the jungle.

"I had been intending to escape for a long time because they never explained to me why they were giving me a weapon. That was only to attack the kimbo's,

to steal corn and other products, to kill everybody and then to escape into the jungle because the FAPLA were always behind us. I was sure that, if I turned myself in, I would not be killed, as they had told us to make us afraid. I saw that I was only destroying the property of our people and I planned my escape with the other two and we fled."

The conversation continued and Quartim Pinto told us how he was caught by the bandits: "It was last year, in this same region of Uku Seles. I was working in the field with my father to cultivate the crops when the bandits approached us. By force they took me with them to the mountains and, almost without any training, they gave me a weapon of the FN [Belgian National Arms Factory]. I do not know to this very day where my father is. I do not know whether he died because he was very old, since the bandits mistreated the people, I am entirely sure that he died."

What is the morale of the others you left in the forest? This was another question put to Quartim Pinto and here is his reply: "The mood there is only aimed at escaping, mountain after mountain. The FAPLA and the ODP [People's Defense Organization] are right behind the bandits every day. Many are dying and others are being captured. Many also turn themselves in to the FAPLA because they understand that they were being fooled, on the one hand, while, on the other hand, there is no way to get by in the jungle."

"And what do you think you are going to do now?"

"I would like to return to my land and continue to work in the fields which my father left me." And he added: "If they let me, I would go to fight the puppets so that they will stop killing our people."

This is what this young man wants. It is a just aspiration of a man who was deceived and who, without knowing why, took up arms against his own people. The real criminals are those who exploit the ignorance of men such as he and fomented racism and tribalism in him, those who arm him and who incite him to fire on his own brothers.

They Will Be Re-Educated

An FAPLA officer, who spoke for the unit, told ANGOP that the three fellow citizens would be rehabilitated. "We will make men out of them. Men with an awareness and a capacity for participating in the tasks of national reconstruction because our objective is not physically to eliminate anybody, except those who in fact try to put up armed resistance. Our main objective is to rehabilitate our fellow citizens who were deceived by the propaganda of Pretoria and its band."

"This is why," he remarked, "I want to use this opportunity to issue another appeal to those who are still in the jungles: They must immediately lay down their arms and turn themselves in to the sub-units and detachments of the FAPLA and the ODP who are operating in all parts of the province and the country. Any type of resistance will be useless and will only bring with it grave consequences to those who are involved."

5058

CSO: 3442/55

UNITA SEEN AS FORCE TO BE RECKONED WITH

Lisbon O DIA in Portuguese 18 Nov 83 p 3

[Commentary by Nuno Rogeiro: "A Military Accounting"]

[Text] During the Carter administration, UN Ambassador Andrew Young declared that the presence of the Cubans in Angola was an element of "stabilization." In a way, this thought expressed the official American position at a time when Washington was conceding zones of influence to Moscow, feeling that the Republicans had given too much support to some states, certainly anti-Soviet, but lacking respect for human rights.

The fact is that the Cuban battalions assured that the MPLA's enemies would be subdued, without jeopardizing American economic interests in the area. This was a form of "stabilization."

However, for those who did not accept the direction which the "model" decolonization sponsored by the Lisbon left wing was taking, the Havana troops were, first of all, invaders, who must be fought. With Holden Roberto's movement in the north snuffed out, with his Zairian ally on the defensive, with South Africa forced to caution (as counseled by various domestic pressure groups), UNITA remained as the only organized and determined military force. It regrouped in the sparse jungles of the south, along the rivers, using enemy weapons and some old FNLA arms.

In a few years, Sabimbi's movement, the only one which did not have significant international commitments (although at one time or another it had received aid from the United States, China and France), filled out its ranks with Umbundos, who were weary of the Cuban pillage, the tyranny of the Luandan mulattos and the MPLA's kimbundo "intelligentsia," and with experienced veterans of the Portuguese special forces (greatly admired by the East Germans and South African alike for their fighting ability). They gave UNITA the look of a regular army and the discipline which it had sometimes lacked, and which distinguished the guerrilla group from a classical army (even in matters of international recognition).

From a simple war of ambushes and attrition, the only kind possible after the Cuban offensive in late 1975, UNITA began to conduct its engagements with larger troops, and to create "liberated zones," to build villages and bases. According to correspondents' reports from the area, UNITA now has a reasonable health system, medical teams who can perform delicate operations, and transport which can move freely in the southeast, as well as a military layout which is equipped with heavy weapons and is believed to be able to launch attacks close to Luanda.

Current Situation

There are still shortages, and the UNITA members complain, especially, of a lack of antibiotics, precision instruments for the laboratories and factories which have already been set up (near Cangamba, Chitemba and the former Pereira D'Eca) and, on the military side, of anti-aircraft weapons and armored vehicles (what they have is either captured, such as the SA-7 missiles and the M-55 triple cannons, or belonged to the FNLA, such as the few AML Panhard tanks). These weak points are offset, however, by a greater familiarity with the terrain than the Cubans and by the enemy's lack of motivation.

As one of Savimbi's military officers told an American team which was in the Benguela area this year: "The Cubans don't know the jungle, so they keep to the roads. The FAPLA [Angolan Armed Forces] are also beginning to be fed up with the Cubans and so they are not trying very hard to find us. Our guerrillas wouldn't let them come here, in any event."

The situation has deteriorated for the Luanda regime since the beginning of the summer. The MPLA suffered significant losses in Gabela; the ports on the southern coast are virtually surrounded; near Benguela, an armored column with Cuban reinforcements was destroyed. Some assault helicopters, fighter planes and reconnaissance planes (including at least two MiG-21's) were shot down. Cuban officers and Soviet advisors have been taken captive, along with great quantities of materiel, including 6 medium tanks.

Military observers in Washington and Luanda feel that the Soviet Union has begun to replace some of its troops with Cubans, the last contingent of whom arrived in Luanda a short time ago, with anti-aircraft reinforcements. (Moscow is afraid that Savimbi now has some light planes, such as the DO-27 or the Aeritalia Am.3C Boshok, capable of ground attack missions.) It is also noted that FAPLA desertions are increasing and there may even be an armed rebel group in the north.

UNITA's current strategy seems to consist in closing all of the south off from the Luanda forces and possibly forcing an advance to the north and east, to win a large center which would serve as a provisional capital. Simultaneously, it is conducting a campaign to stir up the population of Luanda against the MPLA, taking advantage of schisms in the movement.

It must, however, be remembered that, when it is united, UNITA's enemy is very powerful, primarily because of its superiority in air power and in tanks, which are always the decisive element in a battle for a modern city like Luanda or Nova Lisboa. In addition to the Cubans, who have at least one motorized brigade, there is a large GDR contingent (a fully equipped regiment), which works with the Luanda political police and with the personal guard of the MPLA leaders. There are Soviet and North Korean advisors who handle the ground-air missiles, planes and more sophisticated tanks, and, according to recent reports, there is an undetermined number of South Yemeni soldiers.

But the fact is that UNITA can add to its weapons if it receives enough financial aid, and that the MPLA will find it difficult to overcome the loss of morale caused by the odium of fighting beside foreigners who have shown an arrogance and a segregationist spirit that is hardly surprising. In the end, this imbalance in the motivation of the combatants is a key to the problem, and in time it could be the decisive factor.

COUNTRY'S MILITARY SITUATION VIEWED FROM INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVE

Lisbon O DIA in Portuguese 18 Nov 83 pp 3, 4

[Commentary by Nuno Rogeiro: "A Dream Called Angola"]

[Text] In a previous article, I discussed the central paradox of the actions of groups like the MPLA, which begin to copy European centralized models when they find that the power lusted after in the name of "anticolonialism," "African nationalism," racial liberation, independence and irredentism is empty. Then I briefly examined the purely military situation in that war-torn area, along the hundreds of kilometers of borders patrolled or coveted by interested nations.

What I recorded first was factual data, describing some disagreements among the old guerrilla or terrorists groups installed in the political capitals, where the growing skyscrapers attest to the presence of other worlds. Now the balance of power between the adversaries, who are today battling for Luanda, for the southern highlands, for the magic forests of Cabinda and for the sea ports which the Portuguese navigators used as shelters and fortresses, is changing. This changing balance and the developments in the ground war are increasingly exciting the attention of the great centers of world power, as can be observed here in the United States itself, which is again faced with "hot war" options, between the "big stick" diplomacy of Teddy Roosevelt and the (theoretically) secret operations of the descendants of the OSS.

By way of introduction, it can be said that Washington is losing the last illusions of the possibility of a negotiated peace in a territory where dominant positions and power zones have been achieved only through war. In this light, the sober savants who welcomed the new world of Yalta are again examining the role of the small nations and local powers in solving the important strategic embroglios. As I have said before, there is in this something familiar to Portugal.

Retrurn of the Warriors

At Fort Bragg, in North Carolina, increasing numbers of men are being trained as American special forces, destined to operate in remote areas, including behind enemy lines. The assembly lines of Abrahams, Cadillac, McDonnell Douglas and Grumann are maximizing production of heavy tanks, supersonic fighter planes and the latest model "intelligent" missiles. The plans to install atomic vectors in Western Europe, to the very border of Portugal, are already being implemented. On the Soviet border, the incident with the South Korean Boeing illustrated the nervousness of a government which still considers itself a "fortress nation",

which is intensifying antiguerrilla operations in Afghanistan, concentrating them dangerously close to the Pakistani border, which is sending SS-21 ground-to-ground missiles with nuclear warheads to a seething area like the Middle East, which is strengthening the Panfilov motorized division and preparing it for the western theater of war. The odor of gunpowder is invading the world, whose peace is disturbed by dozens of conflicts, from Lebanon to Kampuchea, Iran to Timor, the open sore in the Indies.

In this climate, which George Kennan, former American ambassador to Moscow, sees as presaging a new world war, Angola appears to be a keystone in the African front. To Washington and Moscow, Angola is important in a "rose-colored map" which links the Atlantic and the Indian oceans and also includes Zambia, the former Rhodesia and Mozambique. This internationalization exists de facto, with the stationing of Cuban detachments on the coast, in Luanda and in Cabinda, a contingent which is a kind of colonial Soviet infantry, fitting in with an East German battalion and groups of military specialists from member countries of the Warsaw Pact. For now, the Americans must content themselves with Cabinda's oil and with attempts to win over the Luanda leaders with promises of economic aid.

For the Angolans martyred by the cruel war among factions, the continued presence of an occupation army which speaks a foreign language is a daily torment, and nothing could be preferable to its withdrawal. Part of the MPLA oligarchy is already aware of this, but for the negotiators and strategists of the great powers, whether the Cubans stay or leave is simply a "medium of exchange," linking the problem to the Namibian issue which, strictly speaking, is foreign to Angolan interests.

In this light, no one has the authority to criticize those who decided not to wait for the results of office politics and took up arms to contest a real state of "military occupation." The return to the "ultimate ratio," the reason of arms, is also justified, in UNITA's eyes, by the reinforcement of the Cuban contingent, which in recent weeks has been fortified with another 5,000 men, contradicting the optimistic opinion of Perez de Cuellar, who thought his visit had served to convert Luanda's hawks into reasonable doves.

Party Under Siege

On the other hand, it is the very position and language of the dominant MPLA faction which is preventing a peaceful way out of the quagmire. Repeating the Kremlin argument that the presence of the Cubans in Angola depends on the continued presence of the 12,000 South African soldiers in Namibia (a presence which long preceded the Cuban disembarkation on the Angolan coast in 1975), the party in power is nothing more than a sounding board for international claims.

It can be noted that, by this argument, the struggle in Angola can be seen as a "classic war" and not simply an MPLA police action against UNITA "bands." It is thus understandable that Savimbi has won an audience in the United States and may even be within a step of being recognized as a "belligerent party." In admitting that the Cuban army is a strategic threat to the South Africans, the MPLA erases itself from the map of action and involuntarily legitimizes the position of UNITA as a popular and local militia fighting against a non-African invader. By an irony of fate, the MPLA is in the position that Portugal experienced for years: that of having to deal with a persistent and expensive guerrilla war. The relationship is only vaguely similar and in no way identical, however, since, unlike Portugal,

the Eduardo dos Santos group does not have territorial sovereignty and, above all, it requires the support of foreign armies, which exercise the real power and sap Angola's natural wealth.

Those who willingly allowed themselves to be pictured as nationalist "maquis" today have no scruples about assuming the role of policemen of conscience and allies of the occupier. When all is said and done, all this was foreseeable; odious or not, the MPLA has played the role expected of it. Any moral judgment should be reserved for the fifth columns that opened the way for it.

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UNITA TOWN OCCUPATION, FAPLA RECAPTURE DESCRIBED

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 11 Nov 83 p 3

[Article by Adelino M. Almeida: "Mussende Liberated--Enemy Breaking Up"]

[Text] Mussende (Southern Kwanza)--The red-black of the MPLA Labor Party and of the People's Republic of Angola once again are flying in the sky over Mussende, a town located in the Province of Southern Kwanza, 126 kilometers from Maianje. The FAPLA [People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola] in effect put an end to the town's occupation by the puppet bands, which had lasted 4 months, at 1600 on 26 October.

The dark times in the life of Mussende began when 3,000 men from "UNITA"--led by mercenaries of various origins--attacked the small detachment stationed there and consisting essentially of members of the ODP [People's Defense Organization]. It was 3 July of this year and the town's occupation was a part of the enemy's strategy of launching, from this important highway junction, the destabilization of the Province of Malanje, sealing off the eastern provinces and even combining the operations of the UNITA puppets with the launching of "COMIRA" [Military Committee of the Resistance in Angola] (reconstituted with the remnants of UPA [expansion unknown]-FNLA [Angolan National Liberation Front]) in the country's north.

As a matter of fact, Mussende is linked not only to Sumbe via Quibala and from there to Huambo, passing through Waku-Kungo, but it is also a very important stopping-off point for anybody traveling from Bie to the north. On the Malenje--Bie road we have the bridge over the Kwanza River which is several tens of meters long and which was destroyed by the "kwachas" [UNITA soldiers].

As part of this enemy strategy, it is rather interesting to note the synchronization of the operation that led to the temporary occupation of Mussende with the attack on Cangamba, in Moxico, last August. The best units of the UNITA puppet bands were thus sent into the field; they had been trained, according to reliable sources, in the north of Namibia which is occupied by the South African racists and even in Morocco for the purpose of stifling.

At the same time, the army of Pretoria moved tactical groups into the occupied portion of our Province of Cunene and into Kuando-Kubango. Offensive

reconnaissance flights over the defensive positions of the FAPLA were stepped up at that time with the intention of pinning our troops down where they were and diverting attention from the reinforcement of its followers which was going on at that time. Where the puppets were beaten back and wiped out, they were replaced by the South Africans themselves. This is what happened in Cangamba in August of this year.

In the meantime, the country's military command did not fall into the South African and kwacha trap. On 16 October, units of the FAPLA stationed along the Kwanza River, in the direction toward Malanje and Mussende, were ordered to advance. Attacking from the move, the FAPLA detachments brushed aside the series of roadblocks which the enemy had placed along the way.

The first clash between the FAPLA and the armed bands of Pretoria took place 5 kilometers beyond the Kwanza River. The battle lasted 2 hours. The enemy left the first 20 dead on the field out of the approximately 500 counted until the liberation of Mussende. He withdrew to positions further south. He set up ambushes and took up positions in the trees. The enemy did not spare his forces. Time and again he launched his reserves.

The FAPLA fightingmen who participated in these combat operations told us that the enemy, drugged by the marihuana found in the pockets of the dead, did not spare himself in the attempt to stop the advance of our troops. But the vigor with which the FAPLA went into combat was much stronger. With revolutionary slogans, cheering the republic and the Commander-in-Chief of the FAPLA, Comrade President Jose Eduardo dos Santos, the fightingmen then took control of the situation, striking powerful blows at the kwachas who were "advised" by "mulattos with gold braid on their caps who spoke a foreign language," in other words, most probably Moroccans, according to reports from the local people.

In this way we broke the backbone of the enemy's main strength, estimated at 2,000 men. The remnants are now being scattered.

The South African Connection

On 24 August, the Deputy Chief of Staff of the FAPLA, Lieutenant Colonel NGongo briefed the domestic and foreign press on the "new form" in the coordination of the South African moves with those of the kwachas as part of the subordination of the latter to imperialism. In an effort to cause widespread destabilization in the country, sending the UNITA groups over long distances from their support bases in the occupied part of Cunene and in Namibia, the South Africans have been delivering large quantities of war materiel to the puppets and even employing their aviation.

This was confirmed by people now returning from the forest. A 65-year-old man by the name of Gabriel Cuacanhama, who was taken into the forest in July, told us that "the planes arrived at night in the Cacongo chana."

Flying without navigation lights, the cargo aircraft generally came three at a time, escorted by a fighter-bomber. They dropped the war materiel (cannon,

mortars, mines, ammunition, and other items) by parachute in places previously designated by radio.

Old Cuacanhama said that the people during those days (most recently, three times per month) were forced to light big fires arranged so as to mark the drop point.

After the unloaded equipment was gathered, hundreds of persons were forced to line up and carry the weapon crates on their shoulders and on their heads.

Those forced to carry equipment included mostly old people, women and children. Exhausted by the long walk under the heavy weight of the armament crates and by mistreatment when they refused to go on, many people died, old Cuacanhama told us. In return, the kwachas gave them nothing. But many were "rewarded" with small pieces of fabric from South African parachutes which had been used to drop the weapons although those pieces were barely big enough to cover the genital region of these people.

Old Cuacanhama however told us more. Described by "UNITA" as "people who cannot be trusted, people of Agostinho Neto," they killed his wife and daughter the day they occupied Mussende. The bullet that killed his daughter, he said, was aimed at him. Forced to accompany "UNITA" into the jungle forest, he carried his little girl in his arms for several kilometers and then watched her die due to lack of prompt treatment.

Stories such as this one can be told by thousands of fellow citizens who are now returning from the jungle forest. There is the case of Comrade Damiana [illegible], a city official for OMA [Organization of Angolan Women] who was also kidnapped during the town's occupation, along with her husband, the deputy delegate for domestic trade. Both of them were forced to walk for 14 days [illegible passage] to a puppet base. Their life, they told us, "was much work and little food."

"Hunger killed the people," she continued. "Every day between five and seven persons died, mostly children and old folks. They died of fatigue and hunger. They (UNITA) said that we had to work. They said that the Central Committee in Luanda had already fled, that we would reach Luanda on 11 November to achieve total independence. Defense Minister Pedale had already escaped."

The UNITA kept the pressure up on the people in this way. But they were unable to break many people.

A lady, who is an officer in the puppet bands, told us this. They have sons. Their sons are already grown and one of them is in Malanje while the other one is in Quibala. The lady was taken into the jungle forest during the occupation of Mussende. She ran into her husband at a kwacha base--"Captain Gregorio"--whom she had not seen since 1975. Under normal conditions this would have been a happy day in terms of emotion and love but it was the exact opposite. The lady comrade was quite categorical: "You can kill me if you want to but I will not abandon my ideas nor will I stay here with you." This is what she said and this is what she did. The lady comrade managed to escape and is today in Mussende. In Mussende liberated by the glorious FAPLA.

Defense Minister in Mussende

When a little girl eats a fruit, she knows from then on what it tastes like. But she does not know the reason for that taste. This is what happens to the puppets of "UNITA." They keep picking fruit but they do not know or they claim not to know why they are getting such a big stomachache. In the meantime, they keep telling tall tales and they continue to fool themselves. The worst thing is that they lie openly to the people, making them believe in "things." Such, as for example, that the "Central Committee of the MPLA has fled, Pedale has fled, and we killed Ludy. Is his beret not blue? Well, here is Ludy's beret. Did he or did he not die?"

These are the "things" which the puppets tell the people in an attempt to terrorize them and keep them under their control.

Col Pedro Maria Tonha, alias "Pedale," member of the Party Political Bureau and defense minister, made it a point to go to Mussende this week where he talked to the people. During his trip he was accompanied by Col Ludy Kissassunda, provincial commissioner for Malanje, chairman of the Military Council of the 9th Region, and Francisco Magalhaes "Nvunda," both members of the Political Bureau Central Committee, MPLA Labor Party.

"So, in the end, who fled?" Col Ludy asked the hundreds of persons who came to the meeting in Mussende before introducing the defense minister with the following words: "Here is Comrade Pedale, the man who fled, according to UNITA."

The defense minister in turn evidenced the cowardice of the puppets who devoted themselves to the murder and mistreatment of defenseless people. "They came here and they ran. They should have stayed here to receive the response from the FAPLA," he said and then he noted that "we cannot spare them or pardon them in any way. He who kills the people, who burns the crops of the people, the schools, the hospital, the homes, is an enemy."

"At this very moment," he added, "we have only one task among others: The defense of the fatherland and the revolution."

Colonel Pedale on that occasion announced the support which the government could not fail to give to the fellow citizens who are now returning from the jungle forests where they had been taken by force by the puppets.

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EXTERNAL AFFAIRS MINISTER DISCUSSES RELATIONS WITH PORTUGAL, OTHERS

Lisbon O JORNAL in Portuguese 11 Nov 83 pp 13-15

[Interview with External Affairs Minister Paulo Jorge by Pedro Vieira; date and place not specified]

[Text] Paulo Jorge, external affairs minister of the People's Republic of Angola and a member of the MPLA-Labor Party's Central Committee, told O JORNAL: "At the present time, I believe that there is a mutual political desire to find suitable ways and means for attempting to reach a desirable level of harmonious relations." Paulo Jorge, a veteran of the struggle for liberation and of Angolan diplomacy, noted that the engagement in activity hostile to the RPA in Portugal has been a factor to upset the relations.

He added: "There is an urgent need to define more clearly the opportunities or facilities of both sides in the area of cooperation, clearly stipulating the fields in which that cooperation would be possible and desirable."

Paulo Jorge cited a "withdrawal by the Reagan administration from 'linkage,'" and stressed "President Eanes' sensitivity and insight" with regard to the problem of Namibia.

O JORNAL: Eight years after independence, what are the essential features of the position held by the People's Republic of Angola on the international scene?

Paulo Jorge: After the proclamation of independence on 11 November 1975, one of the first battles in the international realm consisted of the recognition of our independent state on the African continent, so as to be able to inject itself into the international context. That phase was executed.

The relations with the other independent states were established gradually; and now we note the presence of several independent states accredited in the RPA.

During the past several years, as Angola consolidated its revolutionary process and, consequently, its independence, and expended its efforts for national reconstruction, we have also been participating in various international events. ARPA has also become a member of the various international entities, such as the OAU (Organization of African Unity), the Movement of Nonaligned Nations and the UN.

Hence, it has been projecting its image as a state, joining the various international agencies, likewise contributing to the solution of various international problems and, of course, benefiting from its participation in the body of nations.

What Angola Does Not Perceive in Portugal

[Question] The relations between Portugal and Angola have had their ups and downs. What is needed to bring them to a more intense level?

[Answer] I have already had occasion to remark that one of the things that has perhaps contributed to the lack of a linear relationship between the People's Republic of Angola and the Portuguese Republic during the early years was, I think we can say, possibly a result of the presence of certain bilateral trauma. I believe that those trauma have been gradually surmounted.

On the other hand (and I have also commented on this before), it has not yet been possible to attain that linear development, owing to what I term constant governmental fluctuations in Portugal, which have not always provided a proper cadence or pace to the development of relations between the two countries.

I recently had occasion to visit Lisbon, and I held talks with Minister Jaime Gama. We discussed those issues and I had an opportunity to stress that, for a harmonious development in the relations, mutual confidence had to be established between the two parties.

Similarly, the positions of both parties must be assumed without any ambiguity.

Now you are not unaware that one of the factors that has really hampered this harmonious development is the presence and circulation of puppets of certain organizations which are actually engaged in activity hostile to the RPA in Portugal.

The Angolan Government does not understand this permissiveness, if both parties are really determined to attain a harmonious development in the relations.

Moreover, we do not perceive why such people can circulate, and even hold press conferences, met with a certain amount of impassiveness or apathy, and up until recently.

Summit: a Response Soon

[Question] The Portuguese Government has expressed an interest in holding a summit meeting of Portuguese-speaking countries. How would the RPA receive an initiative in that direction?

[Answer] That question is currently being studied on the higher levels, inasmuch as the meeting would be on a higher level. We normally have contacts with the other Portuguese-speaking African countries to analyze any proposal, and hence

undertake a common position. I think that soon the pertinent authority will be giving a response to the Portuguese Government promoting that summit.

Only I think that a meeting on that level will have to be properly planned, with its goal clearly defined, so that we may be able to consider the constructive aspect of such a proposal. At the present time, it is subject to assessment. I believe that the Portuguese Government will soon be informed of the position, not only of Angola, but that of the other African Portuguese-speaking countries as well.

Mutual Assistance Among the 'Five'

[Question] What will the major topics be at the forthcoming summit meeting of the "Five" (Portuguese-speaking African countries) at Bissau?

[Answer] The summit of the "Five" in Bissau will have cooperation among us as its main feature. The former meetings discussed the issue of finding a way to make cooperation among the "Five" possible. From that standpoint, several subcommittees were formed, which basically dealt with matters of finance, transportation, trade and the training of cadres: hence, multilateral cooperation among the "Five." Obviously, a meeting of this type necessarily entails an analysis of the international situation and, specifically, of the African situation in which those countries are included; and, in particular, the situation in Southern Africa, since two of the "Five" are forced to cope with constant attacks from the South African regime. Finally, note will be taken of the situation, views will be exchanged and on that basis conclusions will be drawn on the type of joint action that can be undertaken, whether among us, in the context of the OAU or in that of another international organization.

[Question] Portugal has expressed a desire for participation in that meeting with observer status. Has there been a response to that request yet?

[Answer] I know about that proposal, but I don't think there has been any decision, either for or against it, to date.

UNITA Will Disappear Upon the Independence of Namibia

[Question] In a recent interview, the RPA's ambassador to Paris stated that, "On the day that Namibia becomes independent, UNITA will cease to exist as a terrorist movement." Does this mean that the RPA government admits that UNITA will not be eliminated as a political movement after Namibia's independence?

[Answer] I don't believe that this interpretation can be the one given to our French ambassador's statement.

What was meant is that we are really convinced that, upon Namibia's independence, that gang of puppets in the pay of the Pretoria regime, with which it is closely associated, benefiting from the latter's total support, will at least fail to have a logistical base enabling it to carry out its action against the People's Republic of Angola. And we are convinced that, upon Namibia's independence, that group of puppets will gradually disappear.

[Question] The RPA is a member of the Nonaligned Movement. Couldn't the special ties that the RPA has with the Soviet Union to some extent nullify Angola's status of nonalignment?

[Answer] We are convinced that this nonaligned status of the RPA can by no means be nullified. Obviously, in our clearly defined politico-ideological option, we have developed preferential relations with the Socialist countries. But our non-alignment policy is based on the fundamental principles of nonalignment.

[Question] How would you categorize the relations between the RPA and the neighboring countries, namely, Zaire and Zambia?

[Answer] One of the guiding principles of our foreign policy consists precisely of good neighbor status with the countries bordering Angola. It is true that, in the past that now seems remote to us, there were some difficulties in the relationship, specifically, with the Republic of Zaire. But since 1978 in particular, these relations have progressed; and I think that the relations which we have with the Republic of Zaire or the Republic of Zambia are good.

[Question] Does the RPA government still consider the expedient of direct dialog with South Africa to be a negotiating tool?

[Answer] I should explain that the one who wants to hold this dialog has been the Pretoria regime. On several occasions, indirectly, it has expressed the desire to make direct contact with the Angolan authorities; and, up until November 1982, the Angolan authorities rejected such a dialog. In December, however, there was a first meeting on Ilha do Sal, to the extent that they conveyed to us the desire of the Pretoria regime to establish a contact to view the possibility of creating an atmosphere of mutual trust that might later lead to a military disengagement on the part of South Africa.

[Question] Is the hypothesis, which has been reiterated constantly, of the establishment of a corridor separating the forces in Southern Angola, controlled by a multinational force, acceptable to the RPA?

[Answer] That hypothesis which you mention has never been stated nor put forth by the Angolan Government. That hypothesis which has been widely circulated in various media, specifically, in a certain Western press; and this is so because, to some extent it would correspond to the objectives sought by the Pretoria regime which, with its attacks on the People's Republic of Angola, has been attempting to set up a kind of "buffer zone" that, on the one hand, would prevent SWAPO from being able to resupply the battlefronts inside Namibia, and, on the other, would promote the possible hypothesis of installing UNITA's gang of puppets right in that "buffer zone," thereby attempting to divide the RPA into two parts. This is the major objective of those attacks, an objective which, of course, has been cherished, if not approved or fostered by certain Western powers.

British Mercenaries

[Question] The possible release of British mercenaries has already been suggested by the RPA. Will that release come soon?

[Answer] In this regard also, I don't think that this is the position. The release of the mercenaries has never been suggested by the Angolan authorities. The fact is that the British Government has acted through diplomatic channels with the Angolan authorities to discuss an act of clemency with respect to the mercenaries. I should give a reminder that, during my official visit to Great Britain in February 1983, I had an opportunity to stress, to the British authorities and during a press conference, that the Angolan authorities will consider the proper time for a possible act of clemency. But that would obviously come at the level which is competent to make such a decision.

Reagan Administration's Withdrawal From 'Linkage'

[Question] Is it anticipated that the report of the secretary-general on the application of Resolution 435 to Namibia will have positive results?

[Answer] In our view, the implementation of Resolution 435 is actually the basis, I would even say the only basis, for solving Namibia's problem. We Angolans are by nature optimistic or confident.

Given the present state of the problem, particularly since the Security Council meeting which took place in May 1983, at which the problem of Namibia was taken up again on the competent levels, namely, by the Security Council and the UN secretary-general, which at the time adopted Resolution 532, and in view of the recent Security Council session which has just adopted a new resolution, we dare to retain the expectation that the Namibian problem may really evolve, in the sense that the Security Council may adopt the measures necessary for implementing Resolution 435 or, better, the proper measures for the application of the United Nation's plan in accordance with Resolution 435.

Contacts Between Ramalho Eanes and Jose Eduardo dos Santos

[Question] Can the Portuguese leaders, specifically, President Eanes, make an effective contribution to the solution of the Namibian problem, from the RPA's standpoint?

[Answer] Namibia is a territory under UN protection, which means that each and every member of the United Nations has a responsibility for the process of Namibia's independence. I should stress that we have found that insight and that sensitivity in President Ramalho Eanes with regard to the process of Namibian independence. It is nothing new that President Ramalho Eanes has maintained contacts with President Jose Eduardo dos Santos concerning the Namibian problem, and that he is informed of the RPA's positions which, in our opinion, have been duly reiterated by President Ramalho Eanes, and which, we think, have made it possible to make a more real and more concrete assessment of the situation that prevails in Southern Africa. This fact has also made it possible

to have information available when an opportunity is afforded to discuss the issue with heads of states of other countries. It is within this context that we have actually assessed the positions assumed by President Ramalho Eanes relating to the process of Namibia's independence.

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PROSPECTS FOR PORTUGUESE PRODUCTS IN COUNTRY'S MARKETS DESCRIBED

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[Text] Deals closed, proposals outlined, contacts established and better mutual understanding: Of the 89 businessmen who went to Luanda for the Portuguese Products Exhibition, there were very few who did not say that the 2-week stay in the Angolan capital was worthwhile.

The very fact that the exhibition was held, despite some political and organizational setbacks, was already a victory. But the visits received and the comments overheard warrant a claim of success. And it was regrettable that the Lisbon government did not witness this success, with the presence of one of its members in Luanda.

At first, only a group of business firms associated with sectors and goods considered a priority on the Angolan market was invited to the fair, organized by ICEP (Institute of Foreign Trade), with the backing of FICOM (the entity in charge of fairs in Angola). Then firms already included in the Angolan economy also came. Finally, firms which came to test the market for the first time showed up as well. Moreover, some "forgotten" firms had to be retrieved again at the last minute.

Nevertheless, the Angolan authorities considered not only the number of businessmen (124) expected to come to Luanda as high, but also the number of firms represented. After negotiations, it was possible to reach an agreement whereby only one businessman per firm would attend, but retaining the number of firms, and not the 50 proposed by Luanda.

'Intense Contacts'

On the eve of the opening of the fair, which was to take place on the 7th, there hovered in the atmosphere a fear that the exhibition would simply be cancelled. This was avoided, and the fair was to be opened in the presence of several Angolan officials, including the minister of agriculture and Central Committee member Artur Vidal Gomez (Kumbi Diezabo), who toured the exhibition extensively.

The ministers of energy, and construction and public works, were also at the "Casa Americana," which was also visited by nearly all the national leaders, on their own initiative or after contacts with the Portuguese businessmen.

According to an unofficial report, Minister Lopo do Nascimento attempted to visit the exhibition last Saturday morning, but it had already closed.

During the first days, the meetings and contacts were slightly bogged down, or did not take place with the proper individual. One businessman told us that, after a long talk with an official, he heard the latter comment with relief: "The point is that I am not the one who decides."

However, during the week of 31 October-6 November, there was a sense of heightening of the interest in meetings, contacts and discussions. Certain areas are multisectorial, and it was necessary to knock on more than one door.

Only one department appeared more reticent, namely, the Ministry of Foreign Trade. It was not until the beginning of this week, with the exhibition already closed, that Importang (importer of consumer goods) and Mekanang (capital goods) allowed contacts. One can only speculate on the reasons for this position: a political gesture associated with the anti-Angolan activities in Lisbon, or merely a way of showing that financing is critical for an increase in trade?

Credit

Obviously, the businessmen have no illusions that everything will be easy. They realize (they learned at their own expense) that the conquest of a market is a difficult task that can take months and years. To many of them, the fair is beginning now. Moreover, there is the problem of credit, which has caused the Portuguese businessmen, at the outset, to feel at a disadvantage, upon hearing of the lines offered by Spain, Italy and Brazil ("and they claim to be bankrupt," they comment).

To many businessmen, the attitude is that of sowing seeds; while others say: "Within a couple of months, I'll return here."

One businessman, stressing the need to establish sound foundations for the relationship, commented: "I don't want to make one business deal, but many business deals."

In the view of some firms, Angola, as well as Mozambique, represents an opportunity to continue working fulltime. Others come with a rope around their neck; and they are certainly not a market that has already created rather selective rules that can turn stones into bread.

Samples Left in Luanda

The exhibition, which was visited, among others, by the ambassadors of the USSR, Poland, China, North Korea, Romania and France, has had a great impact on Luanda, both from the number of firms represented and the technical quality of the exhibit.

Furthermore, it has entailed a thorough understanding of this tropical market (being particular in the selection of samples of ready-made goods). It was

no coincidence that virtually all the samples that had been sent from Lisbon remained in Luanda. Instructions to facilitate the payment for the capital goods in the sample collection will be given to the National Bank of Angola, according to a source in the Portuguese group.

Meanwhile, consideration is being given to further displays or participation in exhibitions in Luanda. However, the idea is to promote turnover based on less spectacular sectors, but ones which might make it possible to extend the dynamics started by the exhibition.

Friends, Friends, Even Business Deals

If further proof were needed, the exhibition of Portuguese products in Luanda served to show, once again, that a good political understanding is essential for the success of business and economic agreements.

The relations between Portugal and Angola are nurtured to a large extent by channels based on friendships and solidarity dating back to the university, or forced in the process of transition to independence. It is for this reason that (forgive the paradox), even when Portuguese-Angolan relations have not been progressing very well, the relations between Portuguese and Angolans have continued to be good. However, the ideal would be to put both things on an equal footing.

The press conference held in Lisbon by an organization opposed to Angolan sovereignty and the exhibition ended up appearing to the Angolan public as if there were some connection, which interfered with the start of the fair. Generally speaking, all the businessmen were affected by that incident.

Politicized Relations

Some, nearly a third, signed a joint statement addressed to Prime Minister Mario Soares, conveying the negative effect that the activities of the adversaries of the regime established in the RPA had on their action as businessmen.

The ambassador from Lisbon to Luanda took the initiative to enlighten the businessmen concerning the aforementioned press conference, reporting that it had been banned by the Portuguese Government.

What happened for a few minutes in the street could not be regarded as a press conference.

However, the signatories were of the opinion that there were still reasons prompting them to send a joint statement to the Portuguese prime minister. ICEP [Portuguese Foreign Trade Institute] let it be known to elements associated with the signatories that the exhibition area could not be used for a meeting with Angolan reporters, calling for a press conference regarding the same topic as that of the joint statement.

Some sectors of businessmen who participated in the exhibition would like to see the economic relations become more functional. Others, recognizing the importance of certain types of political solidarity, do not think that they should be lulled by that condition, but rather that they should view the relations on solid foundations and remain dissociated from today's contacts.

On the other hand, there are commercial firms, such as ETEI (Ezequiel Vicente), which are heavily entrenched in Moazambique, and which at the outset are not offering any product, but have "come in search of what Angola needs."

It is perhaps in this multiplicity of positions that the wealth of economic relations between Angola and Portugal may lie. However, it is an assumed consensus that, if they are to be fruitful, there must be an active policy on the part of Lisbon (on the credit level as well) and on the part of the businessmen, an effective transfer of technology and "know-how." The personal capacity of the Portuguese themselves is of great value in this respect. That is why foreign business firms often recruit Portuguese personnel.

'Our EEC Is Here'

Joao Frois, of the Nobre Meat Industries, tells us: "Our EEC is here."

The discussion took place at a round-table at the Panorama Hotel, looking out on the bay of Luanda, a necessary stage for the three daily meals. Eng. Marcelo Morgado, from F.A. Caiado, and Jose Manuel Potier, from Unisul, know what Portuguese tomato paste is worth, and have their eyes peeled on the subsidies from Brussels.

For example, for this reason, despite the fact that they are major suppliers of the FAPLA, they would not mind entering the Common Market. However, most of the businessmen view Africa as an opportunity to breathe and expand: Angola and Mozambique, but also Algeria, where some of the businessmen who were in Luanda have good business deals in progress, or in view, as in the respective cases of Sonadel (detergents) and Agropromotora (agroindustrial products).

Joao Frois reflects on the reconversion that he himself must undertake. "We knew how to import, but now we have to learn to export at our own expense," he remarks. And he tells us how he has put his "imagination to work," in order to take advantage of a Swedish loan to Mozambique. Meat from Scandinavia for India was prepared in Portugal.

He exclaims: "It was we who forced the government to look toward Africa. If it is not worthwhile, then tell us so!"

'We Are Losing the Brewery Business'

Fernando Barbosa, from Progresso de Vale de Cambra Metallurgy, has a pessimistic view of the sector's future in Portugal. He says: "Metals and machinery are at zero." In his concrete case (he recently made heavy investments), he needs to allocate 40 percent of production for export. He has already been in

Maputo, and the bonds are becoming intensified, deliberately aimed at attendance at the factory's training school by Mozambicans.

There are not yet any decisions regarding Angola, but the contacts have been under way for some time. "We are losing the brewery business," he complains. In this instance, as in many others, and specifically, the capital goods sector, the Portuguese Government cannot help but feel challenged.

Fernando Cadete, from Arsopi, another metallurgical firm, also brings up the question of credit. On the other hand, he also stresses the importance of cooperation in the training of young people in the new Portuguese-speaking countries. "The future lies with the youth."

Progresso and Arsopi are companies which manufacture material for the production of milk, beer, refrigerators and products of the same type. Fernando Cadete assesses the situation dispassionately: "The major projects are the ones that the USSR and the GDR don't want."

'Death-Dealing Wine'

In the realm of wines, the Portuguese are still the preferred ones. Experiences with wines of other origin have not always been successful. In Luanda, they tell the amusing story of a Brazilian wine of the Mosteiro brand which ended up being called "Morteiro [death-dealing] wine."

It is primarily in the service sectors (engineering, technical assistance and public works) that the cooperation is more deeply rooted. The formation of mixed companies, if it succeeds, may be a prospect for a great future. A sector in which Portugal's meager assertiveness shocks well-placed observers is that of fishing, and all the more so because the Portuguese are familiar with Angola's sea. Spain and Italy have already procured major agreements in this area.

Commercial Exchanges With Angola in an Expanding Phase

Angola's interest in the purchase of over a million liters of bottled wine expressed at the beginning of this week, was good and rather unexpected news.

The Angolan market is dominated by Nuno Pena, of Caves Alianca, a veteran exporter to this area that arrived in what is now Zaire during the 1950's. Meanwhile, other bottlers such as Sogrape, Camilo Alves, Aveleda, Carvalho Ribeiro & Ferreira and Soldar das Francesas, Caves Primavera and Messias, also have a share of the market.

In the food area, Frami, Unisul and Acil monopolize large supplies to the FAPLA, a highly important customer owing specifically to the effort for defense of the RPA. Manuel Garcia, who has sizable business in Angola, is "returning" for two reasons: the sale of oil, on the one hand, and consultations regarding leather, on the other.

In furniture, FOC, which has a factory in Angola, has increased its strong position. Household supplies offered by firms such as Chromolit and Silampos are also a sector with prospects.

A large number of textile and ready-made clothing firms have been present in Angola (Sampedro, Somelos, Baiona, Cotesi, Maconde and Highlight).

The prospects are varied: supplies for ready-made clothing industries, and participation in consortiums and other types of business. In this area, the qualitative leap may take place soon, if Califa makes a contract, as there is every indication it will, to form a mixed company for the manufacture of knitted shirts and undershirts, as well as an agreement for technical assistance to all the existing factories.

This is a contract which was already negotiated several months ago, involving the arrival of company technicians in Angola, the creation of a training school for cadres and advisers and a development timetable that would cause Angola to become an exporter by the second part of the decade. In order to achieve good profitability for the company, Califa is paying close attention to the preparation of the contract in its social aspects: meals, day nurseries and child care.

Associations of this kind may be formed in other sectors, specifically, in light industry: for example, locks or low-voltage electrical material.

As for footwear, Campeao has been very well established since 1977, but there are other firms in the market, such as FEC.

Capital Goods: From Technical Assistance to Large Contracts

Closing a business deal is almost like launching a ship into the sea; and a businessman who is going to be supplying Angola with industrial stoves and washing machines has a right to raise his glass of champagne.

In the area of capital goods, there are contracts on two different levels: assistance, especially for recovery or repair of equipment; and the awarding of job contracts or job subcontracts which usually involves the formation of consortiums.

The second level usually entails the first, but the first does not necessarily involve the second. The large public works contractors, Soares da Costa, Ilidio Monteiro, and Mota & Company (they will have a share in PAVITERRA, a company with a majority Angolan participation), in some instances, bring in companies which supply stocks of machinery, tools and transportation.

COMFABRIL (QUIMIGAL), perhaps one of the largest Portuguese industrial firms established in Angola, has always kept an oil and soap factory in operation. EFACEC (another large firm) is implementing a major contract associated with the modernization and reinforcement of the energy system.

No bicycles are seen in Luanda; hence it is an open area for the making of contracts for assistance and modernization with Angola.

One sector that holds good prospects for Lisbon is that of air conditioning: plant, facilities and technical assistance.

Generally speaking, from mining to the bottoms of tins, and including platform and other types of scales (Cachapuz monopolizes 75 percent of this market), the entire equipment sector has something that Angola needs; as soon as there is credit and a capacity for obtaining major undertakings. Otherwise, there will remain for the Portuguese firms only the crumbs falling from the table of the industrial powers.

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REACTIVATION OF COFFEE, OTHER AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS ENCOURAGED

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[Text] The 'Resurrection' of the Coffee Plantations

Julio Artur de Morais, one of the RPA's three vice ministers of agriculture, told O JORNAL: "The coffee plantations are in a recovery phase that should begin bringing results in 1985."

Coffee growing (a symbol of Angola's wealth, but also involving extremely harsh working conditions, which have been the theme of some pages of Angolan literature) dropped sharply, as a result of the disorganization in production, upon the massive departure of the Portuguese owners and technicians. The recovery has already begun, with production rising from 24,000 tons in 1981 to 30,000 tons last year. During 1973, the production was 210,000 tons.

"Coffee is a product that we dominate," stressed Julio de Morais, whose department is engaged in the resizing and restructuring of the state companies and cooperatives.

In fact, some of the plantations must be remade, and not just as a result of the break in production. At CADA (a "model" company of the final phase of the colonial era, located between Luanda and Benguela) 4,500 coffee bushes were planted to replace the plantations struck by "sudden death" even before 1974.

Most of the companies are state-owned or cooperatives (during a more embryonic phase they were only farmers' associations). However, the vice minister notes: "There has been no nationalization affecting the owners who have remained in Angola."

Priorities

The top priorities in the agricultural area have been defined by the government: production of foodstuffs for the population's consumption, and production of raw materials, specifically, cotton, coffee and oil seed crops, aimed at the native industry and the creation of conditions for independence from an economic standpoint.

In the area of raw materials there are prospects for recovery and, for example, one notes a certain amount of normalization in the production and processing of oil seed crops. At present CADA is the major oil producer. With coffee, a product that is essentially an attracter of foreign exchange, a trade market is being undertaken. As for other products, the production level is not yet sufficient for that purpose.

It is in the realm of food supplies that the problems are most serious. The population increased and the response capacity declined. The war has upset production and distribution.

The "reactivation of the Luanda green belt" is one of the goals at which the ministry is aiming. The completion of an irrigation project in the Luanda-Viana-Catete section is aimed in that direction. Moreover, support has been channeled to the private sector: supplies of seed and means of production.

Africa's Largest Cold Storage Complex

"Production of fresh items is difficult; it demands timely collection, immediate transportation and prompt distribution." However, the state sector has trouble marketing the production; which, despite the shortages, has caused some products to spoil a few dozen kilometers from Luanda. Hence, the path to unbridled speculation is open.

This situation may soon start to be reversed, with the putting into operation of the cold storage complex, one of the largest in Africa. Its capacity is for 5,000 tons of meat and an equivalent figure for other products, fruits and vegetables. The technology is of Danish origin; and Agropromotora, a Portuguese company engaged in studies and plans, is well equipped to be awarded the bid for the operation of the aforementioned cold-storage warehouse.

The season for production of fresh items is the dry period, between May and September. The cold storage complex will operate as a receiver during the period of large supply, thereby playing a market regulating role, as we were told by the vice minister.

Another major factor in Luanda's food supply is the raising of the milk center's capacity from 60,000 to 220,000 liters per day. The center, which has been operating for a little over a year within its maximum capacity, gives priority to social consumption, namely, hospitals, nurseries, schools and the armed forces. It involves a program backed by WFP [World Food Program], which channels the surplus milk from the developed countries to the countries with shortages. The milk is reconstituted in Luanda, according to international health standards.

"For every liter of milk, we have to deposit an amount for the investment fund in an account. That fund is controlled jointly by the Ministry of Agriculture and WFP. Two signatures are necessary to activate the account."

Open to Investment

Regarding the policy on foreign investment, Julio de Moraes claims that "we are open to it with a portion of production." He said that several Portuguese entities had expressed an interest during President Ramalho Eanes' visit to the RPA, "but afterwards, they did not follow up" the proposals that had been outlined.

"We are open to a determination of areas and types of production for agricultural investment," we were told by Julio de Moraes, a man who, according to someone who knows him well, is typified by his competence, capacity for work and modest way of life.

Confronted with criticism sometimes aimed at cooperation with the Socialist countries, Julio de Moraes claimed that "the cooperation from the capitalist countries has not had the best results."

He noted: "An engineer from a Socialist country is far cheaper and understands the situations better, owing to his political involvement."

In fact, "our conditions are difficult, and sometimes demands are created to which we cannot respond."

Julio de Moraes praised the Portuguese cooperation, stating specifically that it is well geared to conditions that are not easy.

Moreover, he remarked that the cooperation is good, generally speaking, "but sometimes our involvement has not led to adequate results."

However, he made it clear that "cooperation cannot cover everything."

Guided Tour of Mr Freitas' Banana Plantation

Heading north from Luanda and arriving at Quifangondo, anyone wanting to continue on to Funda takes a road to the right. Over a short stretch, the road follows the stream of water that supplies Luanda from Mabubas. Farther ahead, he sees on the left various industrial facilities, namely, a factory for prefabricated houses, using French technology. Finally, there appears Funda, the headquarters of a commune and an area sought by some Luandans who are tired of the city's frenetic atmosphere. The meeting place is the shop of Mr Freitas, a middle-aged man who, 2 years ago, traded a job in the Ministry of Transportation for agricultural work. Right beside the shop, whose shelves he keeps supplied with items for popular consumption, he has a banana plantation, which is his pride.

As we tour the leafy paths formed of the banana trees, he remarks: "This bunch I don't cut; it is for visitors to see." A water catchment of his own ensures the irrigation. He has also planted manioc and peanuts, and even corn for the livestock. A short distance from Funda he has a larger farm from which come tons of tomatoes and other garden produce, and on which 20 people are working.

He sells his products to ENSUL (Supermarket Enterprise of Luanda), but he complains about a certain amount of irregularity in the payments, transportation and supplies for his shop.

BRIEFS

LUMBER EXPORTS--About 15,000 cubic meters of lumber will have to be exported this year as part of the participation of the People's Republic of Angola on the international lumber market, it was disclosed on Tuesday in Cabina by Vice Minister of Agriculture for Forestry Resources Graciano Mande. The estimated export volume, the first one since national independence, will be guaranteed by nine lumber exporting enterprises recently created in the producing region with a view to providing effective technical conditions for an increase in the country's production capacity. In the meantime, "EMADIERA [Lumber Enterprise] 17 September"--an enterprise created 2 months ago--produced 20,000 cubic meters of lumber by 1 November as against 18,000 planned by December, he said, continuing to the effect that the supply of lumber to the province will be regulated this month with 5 cubic meters [as published]; this plan will shortly be extended nationwide. The Angolan government official later on stressed that, as part of the reorganization of ENPROF [expansion unknown], five new enterprises were created as of this time, specifically, "EMADIERA 17 September" in Cabinda and the lumber processing enterprises of Bengo, Northern Kwanza, Malanje, and Uije; another unit is to be opened in Cabinda. [Excerpts] [Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 11 Nov 83 p 13] 5058

NEW ELECTRIC POWER STATION--Uije. A power station was opened on Saturday in this city by Minister of Energy and Petroleum Pedro de Castro Van-Dunem (Loy). The minister admitted that this power station will not solve the energy problems of the Province of Uije [as published]. He said however that a high-tension power line is being built from Ndalatando (Cambambe Dam) to the Province of Uije. The energy minister also visited the hydroelectric dam at Lukizi, 25 kilometers from the city of Uije. The power plant which was just opened has a capacity of 1,500 kilowatts; it consumes 400 liters of gas-oil per hour and 100 liters of oil per day. Its fuel and lubricant consumption is another "big headache" for the province and threatens the operation of other equipment. This is the reason for the presence of a manager from the department of SONANGOL [National Angolan Fuel Company] in the delegation; he is to study ways and means for solving the problem. The Lukizi Dam has a total capacity of 950 kilowatts, produced by three turbines. Before, there were problems with the clogging of gratings and the locks to the point where everything was paralyzed. According to statements by the provincial delegate for energy, the situation has already been resolved and the dam is working "normally" in spite of the fact that the resistance in one turbine is burned out. The province will also be able to count on support from the dam for electric power supply. Saturday

afternoon the minister met with provincial party and government sections and seriously discussed the province's various energy problems. The delegation [words missing] Luanda was made up of the head of the Department of Energy, Transportation and Communications of the Party Central Committee Nazario Vital, as well as Angolan managers and engineers from ENE [National Electricity Company] and SONEFE [National Company for Overseas Projects Studies and Financing, Inc.] [Text] [Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 8 Nov 83 pp 1, 2] 5058

UNITA CAPTURES PORTUGUESE, BRITISH--In a communique released yesterday afternoon in Lisbon, UNITA reports that it took 12 Portuguese and 5 British citizens captive in an operation launched on 13 November, in which it took Kozombe and Kavungo and gained control of the bridge over the Zambeze River. Foreign journalists witnessed the operation. According to the communique, the combination of operations launched on 9 November was a part of the gradual advance of the generalized offensive against the Russian-Cuban occupation. The actions gave UNITA total control of the entire border with Zambia. The communique notes that this fact will certainly have an effect on relations between Luanda and Lusaka. UNITA's most relevant military initiatives, in terms of the objective of reaching Luanda, have taken place in Benguela, Cuanza-Sul, Cuanza-Norte, Malanje and Huambo districts. Thus, the communique stresses, the Moxico area is almost liberated except for the capital and for Lau, the terminal of the Benguela Railroad on the border with Zaire. In Cuanza-Sul, the UNITA forces have destroyed 24 supply trains. Some 225 MPLA recruits deserted the Luena military training camp and showed up in areas controlled by UNITA. [Text] [Lisbon O DIA in Portuguese 16 Nov 83 p 7] 6362

CSO: 3442/59

LOCAL COMMUNITIES OF MENAGESHA PROVINCE ENGAGE IN DEVELOPMENT ACTIVITIES

Addis Ababa THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD in English 16 Nov 83 pp 1, 5

[Text] Metarobi (ENA)--Local communities in this district of Menagesha province, Shoa region, are making commendable effort to improve the quality of life.

The inhabitants of the district are actively involved in development oriented ventures such as afforestation, construction, soil conservation and water provision.

In the last five years, 6,254,921 eucalyptus tree seedlings have been planted through the mobilization of peasant association members. Nurseries have been established for up to 500,000 tree seedlings and it is expected that in due course over one million seedlings would be planted in Metarobi every year.

Cognizant of the transportation problem prevailing in the district, the inhabitants have raised nearly 100,000 birr for the construction of the Huleta-Muger highway. Government subsidy and funds to be raised by mass organizations will cover the remaining construction cost which amounts to 2,870,000 birr.

Peasants in the district have also undertaken other community services through voluntary campaigns launched on various occasions. These people cleared wells and constructed terraces.

Literacy campaign programmes are being implemented with great success in Metarobi. Around 34,000 people attended literacy classes during the first nine rounds of the literacy drive. There are 66 literacy stations and 36 public reading rooms in the district.

Fifty-six regular teachers have been employed to help in the effort to eradicate illiteracy from the district by the 10th anniversary of the Ethiopian Revolution.

Encouragement is being given to the establishment of peasant producers' co-operatives. The district peasants association has provided seeds, fund and other forms of assistance to three peasant producers' co-operatives while financing the construction of five administrative quarters for mass organizations.

CSO: 3400/346

LIVESTOCK DEVELOPMENT PROBLEMS BEING REVIEWED

Addis Ababa THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD in English 16 Nov 83 p 1

[Text] A review of the development of livestock in Ethiopia had been undertaken on a nation-wide scale with the object of finding out the precise state of affairs regarding this sub-sector of the national economy so as to identify priorities in its exploitation and research.

This was disclosed by the Animal Resources Development Department. The review is aimed at identifying problems related to animal health, marketing, breeding and breed improvement, feeds and nutrition, manpower development, research and sociological aspects of the livestock sub-sector. It comprises two stages, the first dealing with the livestock sub-sector, while the second stage is concerned with project preparation. The review, launched in May this year, is expected to be completed before the end of the current month. The study is entrusted to an international consulting firm based in Australia, with counterparts in Ethiopia. The Ministry of Agriculture is acting as coordinator of the programme.

The second phase of the study, which will turn up to the early part of 1984, involves the preparation of four projects. These will cover dairy development and rehabilitation, national animal health, forage and feeds and poultry. In addition to these, the firm is requested to submit proposals for drawing up other projects in the areas of livestock marketing, rangelands development, meat production and bee-keeping, which are to be presented to the Ministry of Agriculture within the next two months.

Work on the review and initial project preparation are said to be progressing satisfactorily and there are hopes that by the time the studies get completed, Ethiopia will be in a better position to acquire the necessary funds and assistance to finance the overall development of animal resources.

CSO: 3400/346

ACTIVITIES OF EWWCA IN SOUTHERN REGIONS OUTLINED

Addis Ababa THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD in English 17 Nov 83 pp 1, 6

[Text] Awassa (ENA)--The southern region office of the Ethiopian Water Works Construction Authority (EWWCA) has sunk numerous wells and springs at a cost of 594,432 birr which will serve 154,380 people.

The authority is striving to provide potable water to the masses over and above its activities to harness water resources for irrigation, hydro-electric power generation and industrial development purposes.

In its endeavour to provide clean potable water to the masses, the EWWCA in 1975 F.C. sunk 31 deep wells and 121 manually dug wells and renovated 20 reservoirs and 13 streams, according to the manager of zonal office of the authority, Comrade Sahle Sisay.

Comrade Sahle pointed out that the wells were sunk in Sidamo, Bale and Gamo Gofa regions where there is scarcity of potable water and added that more wells are being dug in these same regions by United Nations agencies and the Catholic Mission.

The zonal head of the EWWCA revealed that it is planned to sunk 30 deep wells and 100 manually dug wells and to clean eight streams and 30 reservoirs in 1976 F. C.

Comrade Sahle further noted that it is envisaged, in accordance with a UN programme, to provide clean potable water to all urban areas and to 35 per cent of the rural areas by the year 1990.

CSO: 3400/346

RESETTLEMENT SCHEME IN GENALE PROVINCE

Addis Ababa THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD in English 17 Nov 83 pp 1, 2

[Text] Thirty thousand compatriots whose lives were disrupted during the 1979 brazen Somalia's invasion of eastern and south-eastern parts of the country are now leading a normal life in seven resettlement villages in Genale province of Bale region organized into peasant farmers association and producers cooperative.

The Genale resettlement scheme was launched three years ago on a 30 hectares of land by the Relief and Rehabilitation Commission with a capital of 8.5 million birr secured in aid from the Lutheran World Federation.

A team of reporters which visited the Genale resettlement scheme last week was told by Comrade Lemma Degefu, the RRC Project Manager in the area, that so far six million birr has been spent to lay the necessary socio-economic infrastructure for the seven resettlement villages and that the project would be completed within a year.

The resettled peasants are presently producing enough crops to feed themselves with seeds provided by the RRC and are expected to meet half of the seeds for planting they need during the current harvest season.

Four grain mills have been installed in the seven villages and the 1,104 farming oxen, to settlers have been provided with over 1,100 plough oxen. Eight grain silos have also been built for the producers cooperative.

A total of 160,000 tree seedlings have been planted in the vicinities of the seven resettlement villages through an afforestation campaign undertaken by government and mass organizations in the locality.

In connection with health services, one clinic has been built at a cost of 40,000 birr raised by the local populace while a basic health training centre has been made operational in Dodola town during the past two years at a cost of 60,000 birr.

Seven elementary schools built at a cost of 196,000 birr have become operational and 28 teachers have been assigned to them by the Genale provincial schools administration office.

Over 100 skilled workers have been deployed to train settlers in the seven villages in various vocational skills. (ENA)

CSO: 3400/346

ETHIOPIA

BRIEFS

PEASANTS COMPLETE COURSE--Debre Tabor (ENA)--Some 88 peasants drawn from the seven provinces of Gondar region Tuesday received certificates upon the successful completion of a two-week crash course in various vocations and political education at the Wereta Agricultural Training Centre. The peasants who followed lessons on preparation of fodder and feeding of animals, animal health care, fishery resources development and ideological lessons, were drawn from service and producers' co-operatives in Debre Tabor, Gaint, Ljbo, Gondar-Zuria, Chilga, Wegera, and Semien provinces. Handing over the certificates to the peasants, Comrade Yohannes Akalu, COPWE representative of Fogera district, said that the expansion of cooperatives is decisive for the realization of socialist construction in rural areas. [Text] [Addis Ababa THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD in English 17 Nov 83 p 6]

CSO: 3400/346

RAWLINGS RECEIVES IVORIAN FARMERS, COMMENTS

AB051230 Abidjan FRATERNITE MATIN in French 3, 4 Dec 83

[Excerpts] The Ghanaian head of state received the Ivorian farmers on two occasions, the first time on Tuesday, 22 November. That was a day after their arrival in Ghana. The second time was on 30 November, a few days before they left Ghana.

After the Ivorians had visited plantations and agroindustrial industries (reports on this in subsequent issues), Flight Lieutenant Jerry Rawlings wanted to hear their thoughts on the policy he has instituted for the promotion of the rural masses since he came to power. These edifying impressions were summed up by the leader of the Ivorian delegation, Norbert Anney Kablan, principal private secretary of Minister [of Agriculture] Bra Kanon:

"We have come here and have seen and heard a lot. We know Ghana better. Yours is a great people. You have demonstrated the determination to promote an exemplary cooperation with our country in the common battle for the development of our continent. Rest assured that your message will reach the appropriate person."

After recalling that in the Ivory Coast President Houphouet-Boigny has taught us that we must do everything to preserve peace in our country, peace with African states, and peace with other countries in the world, Mr Anney then expressed "our country's willingness to cooperate, but on the basis of reciprocal trust, with all countries who respect our sovereignty."

Earlier, Nana Owusu Gyemi, president of the National Union of the Ghana Farmers' Association, stated on behalf of the rural population that he intended to meet President Houphouet-Boigny, whom he considers to be the African president of farmers, to ask him to assist Ghana to surmount the present crisis, especially in the supply of oil.

President Rawlings, who did not object to this request, simply added that "assistance between neighboring states is one of the conditions for an effective interaction which is indispensable to the achievement of peace and development of our continent."

Receiving a delegation of Ivorian farmers on an information visit to Ghana on 30 November, Flight Lieutenant Jerry Rawlings, chairman of the Provisional National Defense Council [PNDC], said that his country "is determined to do everything to strengthen its relations with neighboring countries for an Africa united in peace to continue its struggle for economic independence." "I am happy," he told the Ivorians, "that you accepted the invitation of your Ghanaian counterparts. I hope and wish that your visit will not be a protocol and ceremonial one. It would be a pity if that were the case."

The Ghanaian head of state recalled the indispensable role of farmers whose daily work induces development. "The development of our respective nations," Flight Lt Rawlings said, "and therefore that of the African continent, can only be achieved through interaction."

For the PNDC chairman, the artificial borders imposed on use by the colonialists should not in any way alter the noble task which the present generation should tackle every day. Interaction, according to President Rawlings, "has always been limited to a group of persons who are less operational than you farmers. Also, by inviting you to Ghana, we had the feeling that we were going to enter into cooperation with professionals, and the most important ones in our society." "I humbly believe that Africa should learn to rely on itself. We must seek to solve our problems ourselves. We have a common divider in Africa which is the manipulator of our continent; we have to avoid him at all costs."

According to the Ghanaian leader, "If we close our ranks in reciprocal confidence, you will find that Africa's enemies, which we all know, cannot and will not have anything to do here."

Speaking about the present economic difficulties facing our nations, the PNDC chairman stated that this should not make us sell our dignity to the rich nations of other continents nor to those of our own continent.

Concluding this political review, the Ghanaian head of state affirmed that Africans worthy of this name must draw lessons from this experience by mutually helping each other. Thus, he said, "It is a view that we Ghanians hold dearly, and I would like to share it with you."

While asking the delegation of Ivorian farmers to convey his regards to President Houphouet-Boigny, President Rawlings disclosed that he intended to meet his Ivorian counterpart very soon. On their return to the Ivory Coast, the farmers were received on 1 December by Minister Bra Kanon to whom they expressed their gratitude.

CSO: 3419/221

PRESIDENT CALLS ON PEOPLE TO CARRY OUT CABRAL'S IDEAS

Bissau NO PINTCHA in Portuguese 10 Sep 83 pp 4-5

[Speech by Brig Gen Joao Bernardo Vieira, president of the Council of the Revolution, at opening session of the 1st Congress of the Amilcar Cabral African Youth [JAAC] in Bissau on 8 September]

[Text] The 1st Congress of the JAAC was inaugurated late Thursday afternoon. The opening session was attended by Comrade Brig Gen Joao Bernardo Vieira, secretary general of the PAIGC [African Independence Party of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde] and president of the Council of the Revolution.

In his speech at the close of the opening session, Comrade Nino Vieira declared: "It seems to us that, in view of the topics discussed here, it is quite evident that the objectives we are pursuing are clear--construction in our land of a society of peace, progress and social justice, in keeping with the program of our party."

Elsewhere in his address, which we are presenting in its entirety, Comrade Nino Vieira pointed out that: "This clarifies the basis of our political process, which is to reaffirm once again our complete loyalty to the PAIGC ideology, based upon the thinking of Amilcar Cabral." He further added that "when we declare that Cabral has not died it is because we are ready to bring into being the society which he wanted for our people, no matter how hard may be the road we travel."

In having the opportunity today to experience this atmosphere of unbounded enthusiasm and this spirit of militancy so clearly evident in the representatives of our youth present here, our thoughts inevitably turn to the memory of Amilcar Cabral and all the heroes and martyrs of our struggle. The images of the first years of our struggle pass through our mind one after the other--in Conakry, Dakar, Quitafine, Mores or the Manjaco Plateau during that difficult but glorious time when we were the Cabral Youth. We recall the confidence he showed in us young people as the motive force of the national liberation process. We recall his praise and his criticism, his understanding of the willfulness that led us to want to achieve victory quickly, without thinking about how or where. We recall his

constant advice that we learn, and always learn. Learn from life, learn from books and learn from the experience of others. But we recall, above all, his faith that our people would achieve victory in its struggle against colonial domination and that our party, created by him, would be capable of guiding it in building a society of peace, progress and social justice in our land.

Faithful to the thinking of Cabral, I want to reaffirm to you, at this moment when you are beginning the work of your 1st Congress, that we continue to have complete faith in our youth.

The reaffirmation of the JAAC as the "Secure Fighting Reserve of the PAIGC"--the theme of your congress--likewise shows us that Guinean youth, today just as yesterday, continues to merit that faith.

We have followed closely the activities of your organization this year, in which, as a way of honoring Amilcar Cabral on the 10th anniversary of his death, you have proclaimed this year as the year for studying his writings and the success obtained is clear proof of the progress that the JAAC has made.

The many activities carried out at both the national and the international level have resulted in your 1st Congress being the crowning point of a year full of success. The JAAC has been a valuable aid to our party in its activity among the people. The increased political and ideological influence of your organization among the young people has been quite evident and we are certain that after the congress you will have made a qualitative leap so that you will really be deserving of the name of Amilcar Cabral in which your organization takes pride.

But we must analyze the work accomplished in order to learn from experience. The prospects for the future are what must concern us at this moment.

Our country is now going through a difficult economic and financial situation. To a large extent, that situation results from the international crisis, but it is also the fruit of administrative errors of the recent past and of our not yet having been able to apply solutions that could reduce its consequences.

We are sure that our youth, and especially the JAAC members and supporters, are aware of that fact. The topics to be the basis of discussion reflect it clearly and suggest appropriate guidelines. They must be discussed seriously and frankly, corrected if necessary, but above all properly applied in practice with the rigor and decisiveness the present moment requires.

When we wish to build something, the first question we ask ourselves is what objectives motivate us in the undertaking. Judging by the topics presented, it is quite evident that the objectives we pursue are clear--construction in our land of a society of peace, progress and social justice along the lines of our party's program.

That is the essential clarification of our political process. It is to reaffirm once again our complete fidelity to the ideology of the PAIGC based upon Amilcar Cabral's teachings.

This is our ideology. This is what must be the basic outline of the strategy to be followed and the JAAC is our assurance that this is our future. We are firmly resolved to combat all those who knowingly or unknowingly, openly or secretly, try to divert our party from the guidelines established by Cabral and confirmed by our members in our 1st Special Congress. When we assert that Cabral has not died it is because we are ready to bring into being the society he dreamed of for our people, no matter how hard may be the road we travel.

But if we have a clear idea of what we want to do, it will lead to knowing how and with what we will implement this very idea.

In implementing the decisions of our party at its 3d Congress, which were ratified by the 1st Special Congress after an analysis of the development stage of our economy, we must still conclude that broad mobilization of our people is essential for a proper development process. The JAAC is in a position to interpret these guidelines and to apply them to youth. That is why it has been proposed that it mobilize youth of all social groups willing to struggle for construction in our land of a progressive society that prevents any persons or groups from being privileged at the cost of exploiting the labor of other persons or groups.

The JAAC must be able to put this strategy into practice, combating both the sectarianism that leads to the organization's isolation from the masses and the liberalism that leads to an apparent harmony without principles, which undermines unity, reduces cohesiveness and engenders passivity, and can ultimately even result in the organization's downfall.

This strategy of mobilizing all the nation's forces does not, however, prevent our establishing, through a thorough analysis of our social situation, guidelines for our action among the various social groups in our land. Amilcar Cabral did that before we began mobilization for our glorious armed liberation struggle and today, although the underdevelopment of the nation's economy has not resulted in substantial changes in the organization of our society, we must bear in mind our new situation as a politically independent nation.

Beyond this fact, however, any political activity in our land should not be planned without also bearing in mind that we are far from having economic independence. Today we even depend upon the outside world to feed part of our population. Economic development is the foundation for building any type of society. It can be done for the benefit of all society or for the benefit of privileged groups, but without constant economic development there is no political power that can construct a socially just society.

For that reason we think it is important that our youth consider seriously and profoundly its role in the productive process. A more active participation by the JAAC in production will necessarily result in greater influence for youth in political power.

Youth is already contributing significantly to production and we call attention especially to rural youth, but we must do more, always more and more. The party will support, either through its organization or through the state apparatus, all properly-conceived initiatives for greater participation by youth in improving

production. The JAAC is responsible for encouraging and invigorating such initiatives and we are convinced that your organization is capable of fulfilling that responsibility.

Amilcar Cabral wrote that no revolution can triumph without revolutionary theory but that it is also possible to have a revolution with a perfect revolutionary theory that cannot endure. We have a revolutionary ideology, the legacy of Cabral, and hence our revolution can triumph. But this will happen only through correct practice that brings about better living conditions for our people. We must see to it that our people, in the villages most remote from the urban centers, share in independence, for which they sacrificed for so many years.

We are firmly determined to fight for this. We proved that in the past in the forests of our land, and we proved it again on 14 November and we are determined to continue. We will wage unrelenting war on corruption, wherever and at whatever level it exists. No one has the right to betray the effort our people are making to advance. We will combat the economic deviations that are an outright theft of the wealth created by our workers, but we will also combat deviations from the policies of Cabral regarding a society in which privileged groups live at the expense of the labor and sweat of the workers.

We are counting upon the youth organized by the JAAC in combating corruption. We are counting upon our grass-roots organizations in places of work or of residence for strengthening vigilance and reporting thoroughly each and every attempt at corruption, whoever the culprit may be.

Members of the JAAC engaged in the struggle against corruption must operate in an exemplary and irreproachable fashion. They must be an example to the people so that their voice may have the strength that a revolutionary ethic confers upon them.

The PAIGC has faith in youth and expects much from it.

Before closing, we would not want to fail to address a few words to the representatives of organizations friendly to the JAAC and our party that through their presence here demonstrate that our struggle is not an isolated one.

There is in the world today a somber atmosphere in which peace is seriously threatened and several peoples still suffer the pain of domination and exploitation. Alongside spectacular scientific advances there remains incomprehensible social backwardness. Man can go to the moon but there are also men who still consider themselves racially superior to other men. Vast sums are spent to build weapons capable of destroying all mankind, but a substantial part of mankind is dying of hunger.

The future is yours and you are already building it.

That is why we place immense value on your presence here, as proof that there is solidarity among youths struggling for a better world and that it is of inestimable value. Yesterday in the struggle for liberation we had the advantage of your strength and today in the reconstruction of our nation we recognize your importance.

Our party encourages our youth organization to strengthen its bonds of friendship and collaboration with all youths and organizations united in the common desire to build a world of peace, progress and social justice.

Our party supports completely all the activities of our youth on behalf of the peoples who, in Africa, Latin America or in Asia, are struggling against imperialism.

But for our voice to really make a significant contribution internationally, we must domestically be constantly more united, stronger and more independent.

We are counting upon our youth and the JAAC to achieve success in this task.

May your 1st Congress be a success along the road of constructing the nation of Cabral.

May the JAAC be increasingly the secure fighting reserve of the PAIGC--guiding political force of Guinean society.

Viva the 1st JAAC Congress!

Viva the JAAC!

Viva the PAIGC--the strength, the light and the leader of our people!

8834

CSO: 3442/63

MOZAMBIQUE

BRIEFS

FRENCH PARLIAMENTARIAN ARRIVES--The president of the French parliamentary group of friendship with Mozambique, (Jean Beaucoeur), is in Maputo for talks with the Mozambique authorities. Mr (Beaucoeur) arrived yesterday and was met at the airport by the secretary general of the Mozambique Association of Friendship and Solidarity, (Abner Sansao Muthemba). Mr (Beaucoeur) will spend 7 days in Mozambique during which he will also tour the northern province of Nampula. [Text] [BM011140 Maputo in English to Southern Africa 1100 GMT 1 Dec 83]

NETHERLANDS, WHO AGREEMENT--Mozambique has signed a joint agreement with Holland and the WHO on a project of primary health care in northern Mozambique. Under the agreement, Holland will provide about \$2 million. Representatives from the WHO and Holland will leave Maputo soon for Cabo Delgado and Nampula Provinces, where the project is to be started. [Text] [MB011140 Maputo in English to Southern Africa 1100 GMT 1 Dec 83]

CSO: 3400/369

CHURCH'S DUALISM ON HUMAN RELATIONS CRITICIZED

Windhoek DIE REPUBLIKEIN in Afrikaans 28 Oct 83 p 6

[Editorial: "Episcopal Babble"]

[Text] The Dutch Reformed Church (NGK) could be praised for the refreshing thoughts which have emanated from it over past years with respect to human relations.

However, the absence of clear thinking is still there, without any doubt.

Just look at the difference between the Western Cape Synod's resolution on non-discrimination with respect to public worship: "We may not close the church's doors to anybody--to no sinner, regardless of his sins and to no human being, regardless of the color of his skin." This is how Professor P.A. Verhoef of Stellenbosch summarized the matter regarding the synods.

But, contrary to this, the synods of the South-West arrived at the decision (even though by a majority of only two votes) that mixed competitive sport, involving school children, is an undesirable thing, because this could lead to full integration in the area of education.

Yet, this is a very simple matter.

If mixed public worship presents no threat to education, then isolated sporting meets are certainly no threat either.

If the Lord of the Church sees no danger in joint prayer, it is hardly conceivable that He would see danger for His children in mixed sport.

The South-West Synod's position regarding the possibility that mixed sport could lead to mixed education does not hold good in the light of the judgment of the Exalted.

Joint church attendance would probably lead to integrated education even more rapidly, but it is being accepted in spite of that.

Something does not jive--and therefore this is a matter for reconsideration.

We are of the opinion that the basic error being made in thinking is that mixed sport, per se, will lead to mixed education. Consequently we think that similarly it is an erroneous assumption to consider mixed education as being undesirable at all. With respect to this there are two basic truths which we think must be kept in mind clearly:

1. It is desirable that a child be educated within his cultural environment and in his native language. However:
2. All children do not come from an homogeneous cultural connection or an homogeneous language family. So, what is to be done with them?

Should not the church dedicate itself more to the normal and acceptable setup of education within the cultural connection, if it is putting its primary emphasis there, but then subsequently also allow room for the infinitely complicated reality in which we live?

7964

CSO: 3401/23

SWAPO INFILTRATIONS CAUSE CONCERN

Bloemfontein DIE VOLKSBLAD in Afrikaans 1 Nov 83 p 17

[Text] Windhoek--The security force in the South-West is very concerned over the possibility that SWAPO has infiltrated [South African] black units in the north as well as some of the local ethnic governments. At least one trained SWAPO insurgent, who has been a long-time member of the 202 Battalion, has already been arrested. A Bushman who has been serving with the police was also arrested, because he is believed to have helped a SWAPO band lay mines on the tarred road to Rundu.

The two men are a part of a group of at least 50 men, some of them senior officials of the Kavango government, who were arrested in pursuance with Emergency Proclamation AG-9, for purported aid given to SWAPO insurgents.

Tracker

A spokesman of the South-West Africa Territorial Force yesterday categorically denied that any member of the 202 Battalion has been arrested for purported SWAPO activities and that a Bushman, who has been serving as a tracker, helped with the planting of mines. However, later Colonel Sarel Strydom, head of the security police in the South-West, confirmed that the soldier is indeed a SWAPO insurgent and is under arrest and that the Bushman is also under arrest, because purportedly he helped with the planting of the mine which blew up a truck of the transportation services last week.

Recently, in the propaganda broadcasts, SWAPO again talked about their "comrades" in the South African armed forces and police as well as in government services and about their encouragement to go on with their work until SWAPO takes over the government.

It is a known fact that there have been quite a few instances where black soldiers and policemen in the north have gone over to SWAPO; although many SWAPO fighters have also deserted and are now members of the Koevoet, the police's counterinsurgency unit, or of the local army battalion.

It is also known that during its great offensive in the early part of the year SWAPO sent many political commissars into the country (presumably as far as Luderits) for the purpose of merging with the population, seek jobs, and later carry out their orders.

In security circles the expectation yesterday was that the investigation into the SWAPO infiltrations in the security forces is going to turn up quite a few of these cases in the days ahead.

Most Peaceful

Recently an officer of the Koevoet admitted that Kavango, once the most peaceful area in the northern part of the South-West, is now "rotten" with SWAPOs and that the security forces are no longer getting any collaboration from the local population.

Yesterday a senior spokesman of the Kavango administration said that the government and officials in Kavango are very concerned about the rapid progress being made there by SWAPO and over the fact that now nobody is sure whether members of the security forces with whom they come in contact may not be SWAPO insurgents.

7964

CSO: 3401/23

SURVEY ON POLITICAL ATTITUDES IN SOWETO PUBLISHED

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 22, 23 Nov 83

[First Part of Survey on Political Attitudes in Soweto]

[22 Nov 83 p 11]

[Text]

Anonymity was the key when The Star's market research department tested Soweto's opinion of the forthcoming council elections.

Sealed tin trunks were provided for the completed questionnaires and those interviewed were assured of secrecy to ensure a high level of validity and honesty in the study.

The respondents were not required to give either their name or address so there was no fear that it was an official survey.

The poll was conducted over three days, from November 9 to 11. Altogether 767 Sowetan residents were interviewed to constitute the survey sample. Of those, 196 said they were not aware of the elections and the interview was ended after the initial contact.

The remaining 571 interviewees were then questioned in whichever language they preferred — English, Zulu, Sotho, Tswana or Xhosa.

English was chosen by 65 percent of the sample, while only 15 percent chose to respond in Zulu, 13 percent in Sotho and seven percent in Xhosa.

This is significant considering that 228 of the sample interviewed were Zulu-speaking, 132 were Sotho-speaking, 105 were Xhosa and 67 were Tswana.

The questioning was conducted by a team of trained researchers who were driven through the streets of Soweto by two field supervisors. People were then approached and assured of the confidentiality of the study.

Thus a random sample of residents from a broad geographic area was selected for the poll. Half of the respondents were male, half female, ranging in age from 18 to 50-plus.

Researchers said that about a third of those approached for interviews were opposed to the elections or were not interested in the survey and wanted to have nothing to do with either.

The questionnaire was divided into two sections. In the initial contact sheet, the respondent was asked his age, occupation, length of residence in Soweto, educational level, home language and whether he/she knew that elections were soon to be held in Soweto.

If the answer to the last question was positive, the respondent was then asked to fill in the second part of the questionnaire.

On the eve of the Soweto council elections under the new Local Authorities Act, a Star opinion poll has shown a degree of optimism among residents, with a predicted 22 percent intending to vote on December 3.

In the event of an organised boycott, approximately a third of these potential voters say they will not vote.

But, in comparison with the 1978 council elections, which drew between eight and 11 percent of all eligible Soweto voters to the polls, this still shows a substantial increase in the number of residents who intend to vote.

While the increase can't be directly linked to optimism regarding the new legislation, or even the broader choice of candidates, most respondents questioned seemed to feel the new council would be better than the old.

However there is still a fairly high degree of uncertainty as to its effectiveness, with a "wait-and-see" attitude prevailing among a quarter of the sample population.

The past effectiveness — or lack of it — of the council has had a direct effect on the way at least a third of the voters view the coming elections.

Almost all of those who said they would not vote felt the new council would be worse than the old one and would operate as nothing more than a Government sell-out.

On the whole, however, expectations are still high regarding the power of the council as a mechanism for bargaining with the Government and providing much-needed housing in Soweto.

Over half of the respondents expect the new council to provide more houses for sale, while a high proportion feel the council should be able to make more houses available for rent.

Virtually all those questioned had little hope that the council would be able to provide more jobs, and even fewer felt it would be able to cut the soaring crime rate. These are two crucial aspects in

Soweto, where unemployment and crime are second only to housing as major problems.

Altogether 11 percent of the respondents questioned were unemployed — a fairly accurate reflection of the rate for Soweto as outlined in the annual survey by the Financial Mail.

In a startling anomaly, at least a third of those residents who intend voting still feel the council will be a Government sell-out.

This indicates that those residents who hold out some measure of hope for the new council are not under any illusions.

Profile of "Will votes"

A "profile" can be drawn of those who intend to vote, in terms of majority characteristics and trends common to the group.

Firstly, more men than women are prepared to vote (and similarly more men than women will respond to a boycott call).

From an education/schooling perspective, most of those who intend voting have either completed some or all of their high school education and fall within the 35 to 49 age group.

While most people in this category believe the council will be more effective than previous bodies, the majority did not vote in the last elections.

Linking voting intention with political party affiliation, the majority supports Sofasonke, the Soweto-based political party. But it should be noted that 27 percent of those who say they will vote indicated support for the African National Congress.

Profile of the "No votes"

A profile of general characteristics of those who will not vote shows the majority to be supporters of the ANC.

Again there are more men than women in this group, while age distribution is weighted slightly in favour of the 25 to 34's. However no-voters are distributed from 18 through to 49 years of age.

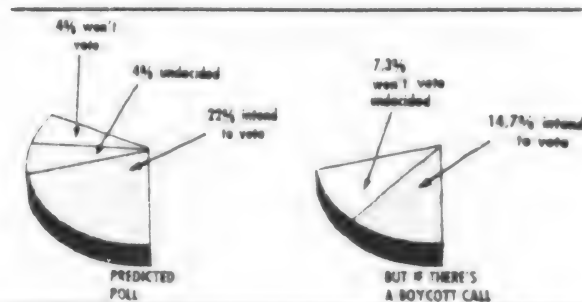
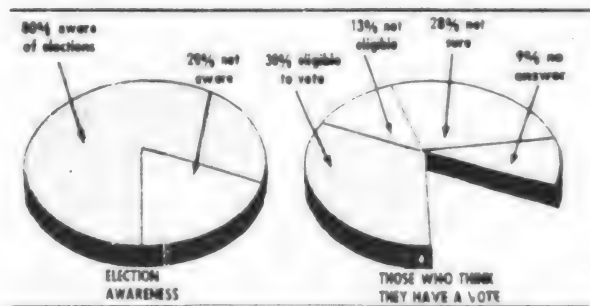
The educational level of the "no-votes" is comparable with

the "will-votes", with most respondents having completed high school or post-matric studies.

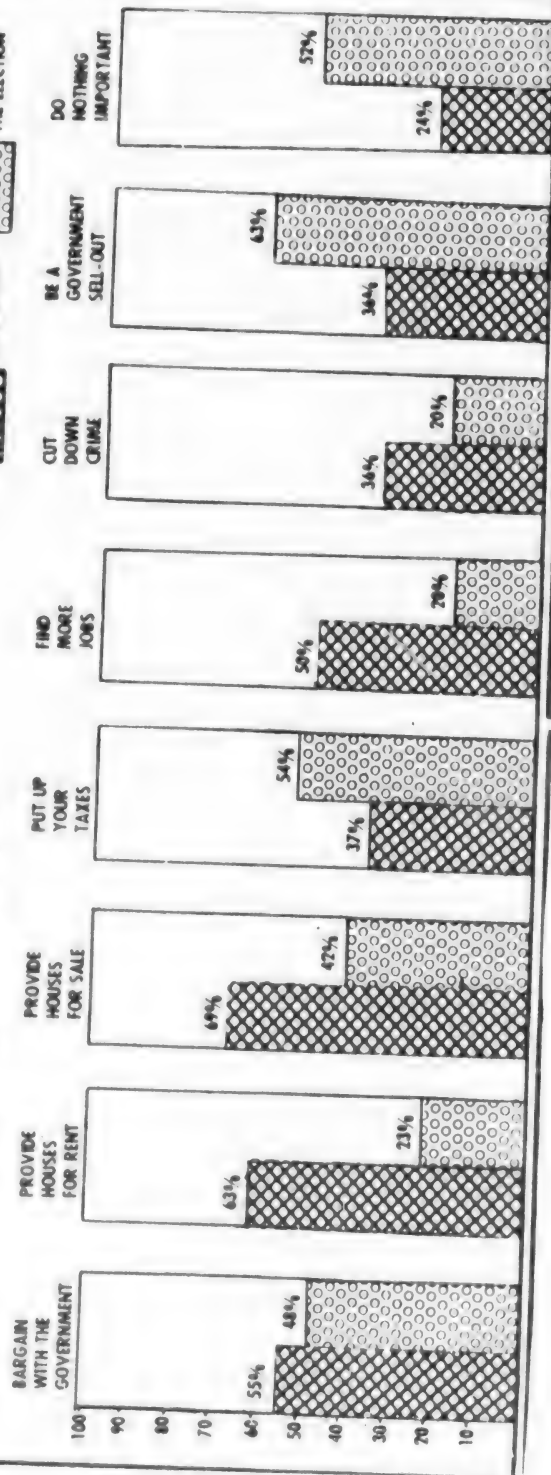
Over 70 percent of this group feel the council will be worse than the old one, and 91 percent did not vote in the last election (presumably for the same reason).

THE TALLY

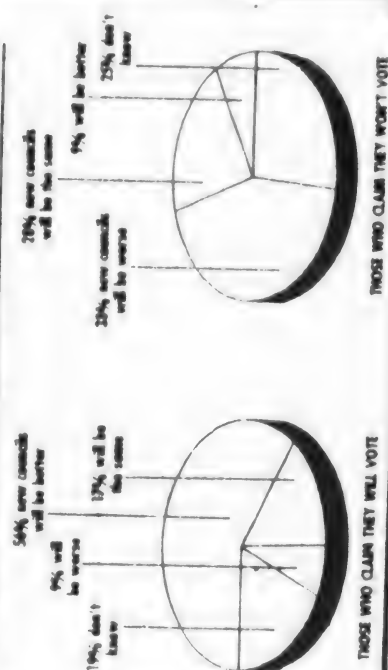
| | |
|------------------------------|------|
| Unaware of elections | 20% |
| Not voting because | |
| opposed to elections; | |
| not registered; unsure | 58% |
| Intending to vote | 22% |
| Sowetans interviewed | 100% |



DO YOU EXPECT THAT THE NEW COUNCIL WILL:



WHAT VOTERS AND NON-VOTERS THINK OF NEW COUNCILS



[23 Nov 83 p 11]

[Text]

While white South Africa voted overwhelmingly in favour of the Government's new constitution, black Sowetans have put the stamp of rejection on the Act.

More than 48 percent of Sowetans interviewed in The Star opinion poll discounted the constitution.

But, in a startling finding, the survey also revealed that 26 percent of Sowetans interviewed felt that the new constitution was the start of a better deal for all the people of South Africa while a further 26 percent were not sure.

The unexpected level of optimism over the new constitution, which has been dismissed outright by virtually all of South Africa's black leaders, was revealed when respondents were asked: "Do you believe that the new constitution for which a referendum has just been held is the start of a better deal for all the people of South Africa?"

Of those who replied "Yes", the majority were under 35 and most had, at least, a primary school education.

The thread of optimism in this group could also be traced through their approach to the council elections in 10 days. They had more faith in the future effectiveness of the council and expected the council to provide adequate housing for sale and for rent.

There was no significant difference on the basis of ethnicity but the group contained a significant percentage of ANC, Inkatha and Azapo supporters.

In fact, more Inkatha supporters (47 percent) felt the constitution was a better deal than those who rejected it outright (27 percent).

This is in direct conflict with Inkatha's official stance on the constitution and again indicates that party political support cannot be used as the sole determinant of black opinion.

By far the majority of Sowetans who do not intend to vote in the council elections also feel that the new constitution is not a step in the right direction for anyone. But, among the "will votes", those who support the constitution are equal in number to those who oppose it.

The level of realism and uncertainty among many Sowetans is again reflected in the number who are not sure whether the constitution does or does not represent a better deal.

ANC heads the popularity polls

If black Sowetans could vote for a parliament today, the majority would choose to put the banned African National Congress into power.

And the second largest block of support would be for Sefasonke — Soweto's oldest civic body.

This is what The Star's scientific opinion poll, conducted on the eve of the Soweto council elections has revealed.

Although the results of the poll, drawn from the responses of a relatively large random sample of 571 interviewees, cannot be generalised to the total Soweto population, they do reveal a number of interesting political trends.

The sample of Sowetans was asked which of the following parties they would vote for if they could vote for a parliament today; the ANC, Sefasonke, Inkatha, the Pan Africanist Congress and the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo).

Rated with this albeit limited choice, preference for these five organisations ranked from the ANC with 34 percent support to Sefasonke — 26 percent support, Azapo — 13 percent, Inkatha — 6 percent and the PAC with 3 percent backing.

Other parties that were mentioned by respondents were the

Progressive Federal Party, the United Democratic Front and the Committee of 10.

Nelson Mandela, the jailed leader of the banned African National Congress, has emerged again as a clear favourite of Sowetans — both among those who intend voting in the coming elections and those who will not vote.

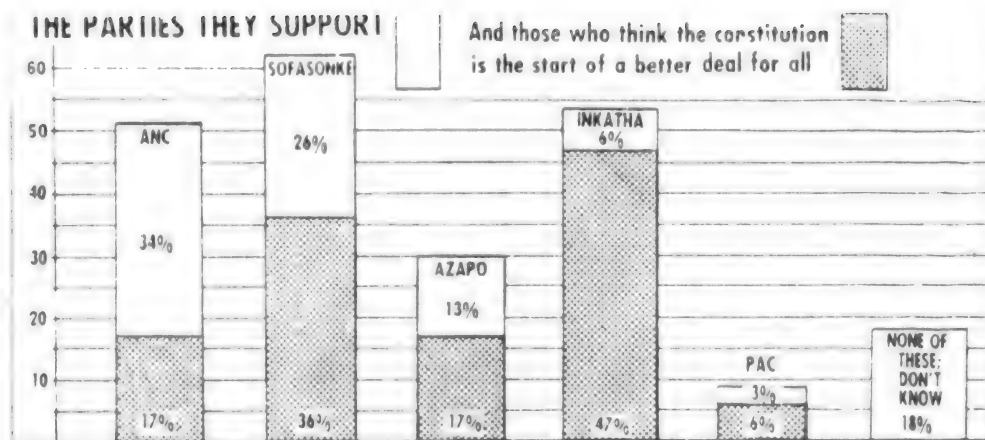
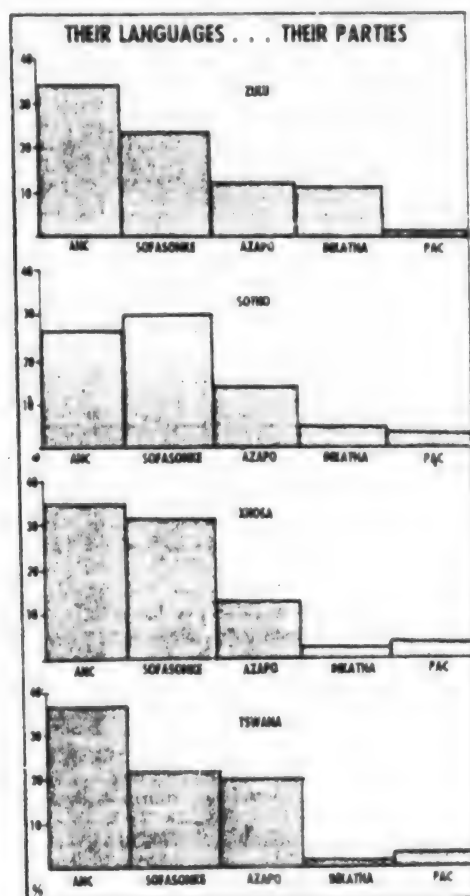
In stark contrast, Mr David Thebehali, chairman of the Soweto community council, received a resounding vote of no confidence by the majority of the respondents questioned in the poll by The Star's market research department. Over 60 percent stated clearly that they did not like Mr Thebehali.

Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, leader of the Inkatha movement, also ranked low down in the popularity stakes, in spite of the fact that the majority of those polled were Zulu-speakers.

The chairman of the Committee of Ten, Dr Ntatho Motlana, remains a popular figure among voters and non-voters alike in Soweto.

On the whole there was no significant difference between the voters and the non-voters with the notable exception of Chief Gatsha Buthelezi and Mr Thebehali. In Mr Thebehali's case, even those who intend voting do not hold him in very high regard. With Chief Buthelezi, slightly more voters than non-voters are supportive of the Inkatha head.

It is important to note that in attempting to ascertain support for black leaders, the sample group of Sowetans was presented with a choice of only seven leaders: Mrs Albertina Sisulu, Dr Ntatho Motlana of the Committee of Ten, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi of Inkatha, Mr John Nyati Pokela, head of the Pan Africanist Congress, Mr Lybon Mabasa, leader of the Azanian People's Organisation, Nelson Mandela, and Mr Thebehali.



| | <u>Nelson Mandela</u> | <u>Ntatho Motlana</u> | <u>Albertino Sisulu</u> |
|----------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|
| Like | 82% | 59% | 47% |
| Not Like | 3% | 17% | 5% |
| Not Sure | 11% | 20% | 42% |

| | <u>Gatsha Buthelezi</u> | <u>Lybon Mabasa</u> | <u>David Thebehali</u> | <u>John Nyati Pokela</u> |
|----------|-------------------------|---------------------|------------------------|--------------------------|
| Like | 22% | 21% | 17% | 15% |
| Not Like | 56% | 8% | 63% | 9% |
| Not Sure | 18% | 64% | 14% | 67% |

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POLITICAL FUTURE OF INDIAN COMMUNITY EXAMINED

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 20 Nov 83 p 34

[Article by Bhadra Ranchod, professor and head of the Department of Private Law, University of Durban-Westville]

[Text]

FOR the first time in the history of this country a South African Prime Minister has addressed the Indian community on its political future.

At an historic meeting in Durban this week Mr Botha, in a candid address, indicated that the Government would not decide for the Indian community whether it should participate in the new constitution or not.

By implication this means that people who have been denied political participation are now by contrast being asked to make what may be regarded as the single most significant political decision they will face.

How will the Indian community respond? This is the big question which will have to be addressed in the weeks that lie ahead.

The acceptance of the idea of a common society and a long history of activism in the political field aimed at achieving full equality, not only for themselves but for all South Afri-

cans, have moulded attitudes.

There is a deeply held conviction that there will not be peace in South Africa unless human rights are enjoyed by all.

The constitutional debate is not the first issue to generate widespread interest in politics — in fact, Indians are known to be well informed and politicised.

But the question whether to participate or not has evoked many disparate views which cannot be attributed to simple divisions based on religious or ethnic differences.

Hindus, who constitute more than 70 percent of the 800 000 South African Indians, have not been enjoined to support or reject the constitution.

The Muslims, who constitute some 20 percent, have been advised by the Islamic Council not to participate in what it dubbed a "racist constitution".

This call has, however, evoked controversy — with some leaders indicating that they should be free to decide according to their personal convictions.

Nor may the differing responses be attributed to an urban/rural dichotomy as

in white politics, since nearly 90 percent of the Indians are urbanised.

Rather the reasons may be sought in the complex socio-economic structure of the community.

The majority are lower middle class or poor with fairly low educational levels. It is a myth to assume that the wealthy industrial and business class is in a dominant position.

There is also a significant, well-educated professional elite which is able to articulate community aspirations.

Another vital factor is the youthful nature of the population — about a half are under the age of 20. The youth tend to adopt a more radical approach than does the older generation.

All political groups aim at achieving full citizenship rights and support the dismantling of discriminatory laws.

It is the strategy whereby this end is to be achieved which differs.

Political parties sprang up recently when the first elections for the South African Indian Council were held.

They do not appear to enjoy significant membership.

One party manifesto hardly differs from another in terms of its objectives.

The Democratic Party, which has three seats in the existing council, and the Reform Party, which is not represented there, have rejected participation.

The National People's Party, which is currently the majority party, has opted to give the new constitution a fair trial.

There are a significant number of "independents", some of whom support participation while others are opposed to it.

The Indian Council grouping, which may for convenience be described as the "right wing" in Indian politics, can, on the basis of the recent election results, be said to enjoy the support of only ten percent of the electorate.

The Natal Indian Congress, which is the oldest political organisation, having been established by Mahatma Gandhi, has consistently refused to participate in Government-created institutions such as the Indian Council, and may for convenience be described as "left-wing" in Indian politics.

It has rejected the new constitution.

While its formal membership does not appear to be large, it does enjoy the support of activists in community-based organisations in the housing, social and educational spheres.

The clear rejection of apartheid in all its forms and guises has enabled the congress movement to attract the support of the youth and a significant number of professional men.

It has formed alliances with organisations which are non-racial in character and is a member of the United Democratic Front.

The Transvaal Indian Congress, a sister body —

which was recently revived — has attracted large crowds to its meetings but again its actual membership may not be large.

Between the Indian Council "right wing" and the congress "left wing" are the vast majority — perhaps half-a-million or more people — whose views on the constitution are not known.

The findings of the Human Sciences Research Council survey on Indian attitudes released in September revealed that a substantial majority favour participation, although there are strong reservations about the exclusion of blacks.

These findings have been rejected by the Natal Indian Congress and have not been readily accepted by intellectuals as a reliable indicator, as the surveys were conducted at a time when the complex proposals and their implications were not fully understood by the respondents.

The level of support for participation will be influenced by a number of factors. Among these is the extension of equal rights to blacks.

This is a consideration which may feature more prominently in the thinking of Indians than coloureds as a result of the close contact between Indians and blacks in Natal.

If either the right of the left is to muster support and participation by the majority of the people, it will have to devise a programme which will convince the majority that there are tangible benefits in giving the constitution a fair trial.

It will have to address issues which are relevant to

the daily lives of people and offer something which will help overcome the feeling of alienation which permeates the thinking of so many who are in economic difficulties.

Among the sensitive areas which have been scheduled as "own affairs" are education and housing.

There is overwhelming support for equal education at all levels.

The housing shortage is critical — more than 100 000 Indians in the Durban-Maritzburg region are on the waiting lists, the majority belonging to the socio-economic group least able to provide for itself.

It will be necessary to portray that the Indian chamber will have the authority, especially the financial bargaining power, to meet this crisis.

The South African Indian Council does not appear to favour a referendum because it fears widespread intimidation.

But if the allegiance of the majority is to be won, then the "right wing" (Mr Rajbansi) will have to spell out the objectives of participation and produce a programme of action aimed at demonstrating real visual benefits for the community if it accepts representation in the tricameral Parliament.

The need for a referendum to determine the level of support for participation is an important question which community leaders will be contemplating seriously, for the decision to accept or reject participation is one which will have widespread ramifications.

Either way the process cannot fail to complicate the Indian political scene, just as it has complicated white south African politics.

GOVERNMENT URGED TO SEIZE OCCASION TO UNIFY NATION

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 20 Nov 83 p 35

[Article by Otto Krause: "It's Time the Bulls Also Gave the Grass a Chance"]

[Text]

THIS historical happenstance called South Africa puzzles people as much as it draws condemnation or (muted) praise.

Some say South Africa is a nation, or at least a nation to be built — but they can't find the right contractor. Others regard us as a very special collection of nations and groups — while differing as to how the lines should be drawn or how we should work together, if at all.

Then there are those who hold that South Africa is none of these things, that we should rather be seen as a process, an open-ended proposition; and perhaps that observation is more accurate.

For there is the fact, as well, that these differing views of what South Africa is simply reflect the differing forces in our society and their respective interests.

And because these forces are so curiously balanced, South Africa as a whole can't say where it is going. We remain awash with indecision.

Take one example. A Zulu friend recently complained: "You Afrikaners and English are always fighting. You whites can't make up your minds about us blacks; you don't give us a lead. And when two elephant bulls battle, it is the grass underfoot that suffers most."

He is right, for surely at the heart of all South Africa's difficulties — and its indecision — is this country's most ancient feud, between two dominant groups, between English and

Afrikaners. It not only wounds whites, but hurts everybody else.

It is moreover of great import how this feud and its motivations spill over into every nook and cranny of South African public thought.

That South Africa should be regarded as a single nation-state is basically an English view — as such it has served their traditional interest, as a minority among whites, as bearers of a more pervasive culture.

With selected allies, English South Africans have always seemed more likely frontrunners in a single South Africa.

Afrikaners, in turn, have opted for the multinational proposition, the better to secure their cherished sovereignty, the better to safeguard them from domination — however tortuous the operation.

But such underlying considerations are seldom uttered openly. We English and Afrikaners are exceedingly adept at covering up our self-interest, and it is not quite done to discuss our ancient feud.

Perhaps there is a very valid reason for this, besides the racial

argument for white unity: the carnage of the South African War did teach this century a lesson.

And so we have set up other strings of values to cover up — or embellish — our respective self-interests. We Afrikaners, for instance, have put forward apartheid, republicanism and separate development as broader ploys for asserting that interest.

We have also urged swartgevaar — shortsightedly.

English South Africans similarly employed the values of Empire and Commonwealth until the backup of British power evaporated; since then a group of them plumped for the tenets of Western liberalism as a buttress to their cause.

In recent years we have gained a new overlay, the ideological politics of Left and Right; and again it is remarkable how these strains find their homes among English-speakers and Afrikaners respectively.

Beneath all the theorising and verbiage the consistent strands of perceived self-interest — or call it cultural differentiation — have been all too apparent. But one really musn't say so.

Enter the blacks into the power equation over the past decade or so, and one sees them drawn strangely into our debate, also according to their varying perceptions of self-interest. With us all living intertwined in South Africa, everybody needs allies.

But somehow these traditional patterns of political thought, and particularly our most recent accretion of ideological leftery and ideological rightery, were suddenly broken — by a referendum that really needn't have been held at all, noga! General surprise, and even consternation.

Suddenly South African voters seemed to be quite different to what all the politicians and gurus thought they were. A stunning two-thirds of the electorate said in effect to the ideologues and theoreticians: "A plague on all your houses, a plague on every one of your policies to end all policies, we're going for something which is simply practical and moral."

PFP voters discovered they weren't what their leaders told

them they were; Afrikaners shunned a set of would-be ideologically hidebound leaders. The whole lineup of our political rigidities, born out of ethnic or language group cover-up, was shattered on November 2; and South Africans discovered that they had more goodwill in the bank than they ever dreamt of.

Is it truly the trust bank though? Was the referendum not merely a flash of self-insight, of momentary intuition, to be discarded after the progress has registered and we all return to our language kraals and ideological redoubts?

In a particular way, the answers to these questions do not lie in the hands of the public, but with government, with leadership. The National Government has of course been immeasurably strengthened, even renewed, by the referendum result. But if its intentions are genuine towards all, as I believe Prime Minister P W Botha has demonstrated, then there lies upon it an onus of which it never quite dreamt.

Today it has the authority and the clout that few governments have enjoyed before, and it has few excuses if it wants to look back. The old feuds and the latter-day ideologies grafted upon them have been cast aside by the electorate — maybe momentarily, but it is a moment to be seized.

Government itself has rejected the former rigidities as well, through the exorcising of Dr Treurnicht and his Conservatives.

It has thus chosen the path of practicality, of applying policies tailor-made to South Africa, and according to no one else's lights; it has brought an infusion of morality which should serve to inspire; it has everything made for leading a new South Africa.

In short, it should make peace with its fellow elephant bull and start nurturing the damaged grass.

And it can begin to do this because perhaps at last we are seeing South Africa for what really it is — a process of betterment for all, indeed the most exciting process on this continent.

NEW ALLIANCE BETWEEN ENGLISH-SPEAKERS, AFRIKANERS EXAMINED

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 20 Nov 83 p 35

[Article by Harry Schwarz, MP: "Decline and Fall of the Historical Vote"]

[Text]

MANY politicians and commentators write about the English and their activity and inactivity in the South African political scene.

Before joining in this debate I would like to define my terms. There are no "English" in South African politics — there are English-speaking South Africans.

Those who have their origin or ancestry in Great Britain are not all from England.

Many are also from Scotland, Wales and some whose origins are in Ireland are also incorrectly described as English.

English-speaking South Africans also have their background in France, Germany, Italy, Greece and many other countries of Europe.

Traditions

Their religions cut right across the various Christian faiths and sects and include most of the Jewish faith.

English-speaking South Africans therefore cover a wide variety of cultural groupings, religions and origins.

There has therefore not existed the kind of cohesive national cultural force which previously united Afrikanerdom in South Africa.

What did, however, happen was that in the main English-speaking South Africans, whatever their background, accepted the British traditions of democracy, civil liberties and freedom of the Press which had been won in those islands after centuries of struggle.

So English-speaking South Africa has over the years developed these common interests and objectives.

How does the referendum and its results change the role of English-speaking South Africans?

First, an analysis of the referendum results shows that probably between 24 percent and 28 percent of all votes cast were No votes cast for the CP-HNP-AWB grouping, which wants to entrench white supremacy and rejects any form of powersharing.

It can fairly be concluded that most of the votes cast for the rightwing alliance were from the Afrikaans-speaking section of the population.

If this is correct, then it means that about four out of every ten Afrikaner votes cast in the referendum were cast for rightwing anti-Nationalist groupings.

Discriminatory

These votes are, in my view, unlikely to return to the Nationalist fold.

If the Yes vote includes the remaining 60 percent of the Afrikaner vote (and this is by no means certain, as some part must have supported the No vote), then it means only about 40 of the total Yes vote cast was from the Afrikaans-speaking section of the community.

In simple terms this means that not only could the Yes vote not have succeeded in the referendum, but more important, the National Party cannot in the future obtain a majority support from the white electorate, without obtaining substantial support from the English speakers of South Africa.

What are the implications of this? Either the National Party must recruit more English speakers to its ranks or it will have to form alliances

with a political group or groups which can win seats where English-speaking votes are in a majority.

The National Party obviously would prefer the absorption process, but there are historical as well as existing problems.

The NP still supports laws which are regarded by English speakers as discriminatory and encroach upon civil liberties.

Risks

While there are many moderate English speakers who voted Yes in the referendum, I believe they did this because they believed, rightly or wrongly, that the new constitution was a step on the road to reform.

They did not do this because they necessarily agree with the general policies of the National Party.

The other alternative of a moderate political party which could win urban seats in meaningful numbers in Johannesburg, Cape Town, Durban and Port Elizabeth and co-operate with the National Party in a coalition — while it might be more attractive to those who feel they cannot join the National Party but would like to ensure the right wing is kept out of power — is not on the scene.

The NRP in its present form does not appear to have this capacity. And there is little or no prospect of the

PFP forming a coalition with the National Party in its present form.

The National Party therefore will try, and will need, to recruit more English speakers to its ranks. But, as has often been said, there is no "free lunch".

The support of English speakers will not be obtained without making it possible, or more correctly, attractive to English speakers to cast their lot in with the NP.

This may also involve the NP in taking some risks with those elements of its existing support which are avidly wooed by the Conservative Party.

The English-speaking voter will, I believe, in the future allot his support not merely on historical grounds, but will assess who can safeguard the values he holds dear and ensure the safety and security of his children.

Crucial role

Mr P W Botha will without doubt realise that it is one thing to persuade English speakers to vote Yes in a referendum where they believe there is a movement towards reform, and quite another to get the same people to vote for the NP in an election.

It looks as if, after many decades, English speakers will come into their own in South African politics and may well play a crucial role in the difficult years that lie ahead.

IRONIES IN RELATIONS WITH MOZAMBIQUE

Cape Town THE CAPE TIMES in English 15, 16 Nov 83

[First of two "extracts" from a report by Professor John Barratt, director-general of the South African Institute of International Affairs]

[15 Nov 83 pp 12, 13]

[Text]

THE Mozambique economy was not healthy when the Portuguese gave up control in the mid-70s and the country was largely undeveloped.

Since then, it has gone from bad to worse if the stories of food shortages, the collapse of even small agricultural industry and the widespread breakdown in effective administration are anything to go by.

In addition, Mozambique is ravaged by subversion and violence across large areas of the centre of the country as the National Resistance Movement (MNR) attempts to cause disruption and bring the Frelimo government of Samora Machel to its knees.

Landlocked

This situation becomes all the more serious when one looks at the effects on the whole region. Mozambique's geographic location, with more than 2 700 km of coastline (compared to South Africa's 2 900 km), makes it strategically the most important country of the

region, next to South Africa.

Four landlocked neighbours — Malawi, Zambia, Zimbabwe and Swaziland — are effectively unable now to use their shortest routes to the sea, which the Mozambican ports of Nacala, Beira and Maputo should provide them.

These ports all have railways leading inland to the landlocked countries, as essential parts of the infra-structure designed to promote the development of the region as a whole, and cannot at present be productively used, either because of the economic disintegration or sabotage and disruption by the MNR.

Problems

Zimbabwe has been especially badly affected and has had to remain as dependent on South African transport routes as Rhodesia was during the final years of the war in that country.

The transport and communications problems which all these countries face have been a major motivating factor in the establish-

ment of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC), of which nine African states are members, including eight of Southern Africa (as normally defined), plus Tanzania.

Outside

South Africa is, of course, not a member; neither are the four states granted independence by the South African Government. Namibia will probably also become a member of SADCC.

The aim of this organization, which has its small headquarters and secretariat in Botswana, is to co-ordinate the planning of development in various fields throughout the region, including the use of development assistance from outside.

Unavoidable

This assistance is, by the way, coming mainly from the West, particularly the United States and the European Economic Community, and none from the Soviet Union.

While hopes for significant results, at least in the short-term, from the creation of SADCC cannot be rated very high, given the powerless state of the economies of the member countries, the efforts to co-ordinate the planning of development in the region on a rational basis must be considered as a positive approach.

Unfortunately, the main political motivation behind SADCC is the desire to reduce in the long term the dependence most of these countries have, to a greater or lesser degree, on South Africa.

It is their unavoidable need to use South African railways and harbours that have made them feel this dependence most acutely.

If it had been possible for them also to use effectively the routes through Mozambique, their dependence would have been reduced. Mozambique would have gained economically and anti-South African political motivation would not have been as strong.

This serves to illustrate that a relationship of dependence is not an easy or healthy one politically; the dependent state will always seek ways of trying to assert its independence of the stronger power.

A more balanced relationship is potentially much more stable so we should hope that SADCC does have some success in reducing the dependence of its member states on South Africa, in the interests of better relationships in the longer term.

Ultimately, one must hope that South Africa itself will become a member of SADCC or of a similar economic and technical organization.

This situation also serves to demonstrate the significance of Mozambique's position. Its

weakness is an important source of instability for the whole region, and it would clearly seem to be in South Africa's interests that Mozambique should be able to reconstruct its economy gradually and be able to play its proper part in the development of the whole region.

Strikes

Yet there are strange ironies in the relationship between South Africa and Mozambique.

Despite the fact that the ANC has been able to use Mozambican territory to infiltrate South Africa and the fact that there have been three South African military strikes into Mozambique, the main elements in the economic link between the two countries, which were established when the Portuguese were in control, have continued, although at a reduced level, without either side officially trying to end them.

These links are the provision of labour for South African mines; South African use of the port of Maputo and maintenance of the railway link; the purchase of power from Cabora Bassa, as well as the supply of electricity to Maputo from the South African grid; and some trade and investment.

Rationale

The South African Government has brought pressure to bear on the Mozambican Government, not only by actual and threatened military strikes, but also by the covert military support it is widely believed to have been giving to the MNR.

The rationale for this alleged covert intervention beyond our borders is by no means clear, but the main reason could be a desire to keep up the pressure on Machel to prevent him from actively supporting the ANC.

This pressure is openly demonstrated in the military strikes against the ANC itself within Mozambique.

If the Mozambican Government's claims in regard to South African support for the MNR are true — and they are believed throughout the rest of Southern Africa and in the West — then this South African activity is contributing not only to the political and economic disintegration of Mozambique, but also to the severe economic problems of Zimbabwe and, to a lesser extent, of Malawi.

So its effects are much more widespread and costly than simply bringing pressure to bear on Machel's government.

If the allegations are untrue, then there is the need for a specific, categorical and detailed denial at the highest level from the South African Government, because of the negative effect the reported intervention is having on attitudes towards South Africa in our neighbour states and on our relations with Western states.

It is widely believed, despite denials, that the SA Government has a policy of "destabilizing" some neighbour states and that support for the MNR is part of this policy.

It is inconceivable that the government could have such an irrational policy, but this widespread perception of our attitude and policy towards Mozambique and some neighbours should then be effectively corrected. (The British Minister of State, Mr Rifkind, referred to this perception recently in Johannesburg.)

Apart from denials of interventionist activities, there is an need for SA to demonstrate a positive attitude by indicating, for instance, willingness to assist in practical ways — as

soon as circumstances permit — in the reconstruction and development of Mozambique, for the mutual benefit of all countries in the region.

The circumstances would, of course, have to include Mozambican assurances, backed up by evidence, that it is doing all it can to ensure that its territory is not being used for any hostile purposes against South Africa.

There are encouraging indications that circumstances may be developing which will begin to allow for an improvement in Mozambique and an opportunity for economic reconstruction, with Western assistance.

While the Soviet Union has provided Mozambique with weapons, it has been of no help whatsoever in dealing with the increasingly severe economic problems of the country.

Associated

As a result, Soviet influence in Mozambique has been declining, and gradually American influence has been entering the picture. Full diplomatic relations have been established, with the exchange of ambassadors between Washington and

Maputo, and American economic aid is likely to follow, with encouragement also to the American private sector to take a greater interest in Mozambique.

Very recently, President Machel has been visiting countries in Western Europe where he has been given clear signals that Mozambique is now open to Western assistance and to investment from Western private sector sources.

He has also indicated that his government will enter negotiations to become associated with the EEC through the Lomé Convention.

Portugal has already shown that it wishes to restore and develop links with its former African territories and, while other Western states will be cautious in their approach, they are unlikely to reject the opportunity to develop at least a small stake, economically and politically, in Mozambique.

Mrs Thatcher's government in Britain has, for instance, given assurances of assistance.

These developments will continue to reduce the influence of the Soviet Union and at the same time increase Western influence through the growing interests of the US, UK

and other countries.

While these developments do not signify a sudden change in the political and ideological complexion of the Mozambique government, they do mean a shift in its international alignments and a more realistic assessment of its desperate economic and security situation.

They also mean a greater interest of the West in the future of this strategically important country.

There are important implications for South Africa, and the government is no doubt watching developments closely.

The United States and other Western governments will also be watching the South African reaction, because anything which South Africa does which could be seen as contributing to further destabilization in Mozambique will tend to be seen as contrary to Western interests, and not simply contrary to the interests of the Mozambique government.

This is one reason why a positive indication of South African interest in the stable development of this important neighbour — and not in destabilization — is needed.

[Second of two "extracts" from a report by Professor John Barratt, director-general of the South African Institute of International Affairs]

[16 Nov 83 p 11]

[Text]

THE apparent decline in the influence of the Soviet Union is an encouraging sign for Southern Africa as a whole.

The victory of Robert Mugabe in Zimbabwe — whatever the negative repercussions that event caused in South

Africa — was a considerable setback for the Soviet Union, which has been unable to make any headway at all with the Zimbabwe government since independence.

Since then, Zimbabwe has maintained warm political relations with

China, the Soviet Union's arch-enemy, and has depended for economic assistance on the US and other Western countries.

Commitment

Western commitment to Zimbabwe, in order to promote its develop-

ment and to keep it out of the Soviet camp, is therefore very strong. In spite of recent actions and statements of the Zimbabwe government, which have aroused controversy in the US and Britain, this commitment is likely to continue, because the Western countries see it as in their interests.

The South African government, which values its links with the West, particularly the US, cannot avoid taking into account Western interests in Zimbabwe, whatever it may feel politically about Mr Mugabe's government.

When one moves to the western side of the sub-continent, one finds the only country in the region, namely Angola, where the Soviet Union still has strong links and influence. This influence is due mainly not to the MPLA's ideological commitment to Marxism, but to dependence on the Soviet Union for weapons and military training. The MPLA government also depends on Moscow's ally, Cuba, for troops to protect it against Unita and against what it perceives as the South African threat. The spreading civil war (in which Unita appears to be making decided gains), together with South African military activity against Swapo in the south, has furthermore contributed to the continuing deterioration of the economy in a country which was considered potentially one of the richest in Africa.

Since 1977

The future of Angola cannot any longer be considered separately from that of SWA/Namibia, because the two issues have become closely linked. Negotiations conducted by the five Western states have been going on since 1977, with the aim of independence for Namibia on the basis of a

plan approved by the UN Security Council. Agreement has nearly been achieved on several occasions, but at the moment there is very little hope of agreement within the foreseeable future. In fact, this Western initiative on Namibia is widely thought to have run its course, as it is difficult to see how the momentum can be revived.

At some stage there will no doubt have to be new negotiations, probably in a different form, taking into account the changed circumstances. But one must at the same time acknowledge that the Western Five's efforts, with those of South Africa and the frontline states, did achieve a great deal in the process of negotiations, even if they did not reach their goal. Those efforts will surely not have been wasted, when the time comes for the parties to sit down around the table again.

There are various reasons for the current deadlock, including South African reluctance — for domestic, political and wider security reasons — to allow a UN-monitored election which Swapo would probably win, and also the South African perception of a security threat by Soviet-backed forces in the region, which it is felt would be aggravated if South Africa were to lose control of Namibia. The problem on which attention is focused now is the Angolan civil war and the presence of the Cuban forces, numbering over 20 000.

In effect, if there is to be a settlement of the Namibian conflict, it will be necessary to have a settlement also of the Angolan war, including the withdrawal of the Cubans, all at about the same time. How that simultaneous combination of agreements can be achieved, to the reasonable satis-

faction of all parties involved, is very difficult to envisage. Furthermore, at present neither the South African government nor Dr Jonas Savimbi, the leader of Unita, can have a very strong incentive, when they are enjoying considerable military success.

The danger in this situation, of course, is that the Soviet Union may, perhaps reluctantly, be forced to increase its commitment to Angola, which will cause a further escalation in the conflict. While it is unlikely that the Soviet Union any longer sets a high priority on Angola — and it must be aware of the risks of getting sucked further into a no-win situation — it probably cannot afford to be seen to be letting down the MPLA government. The same applies to the Cubans, although from all reports they are very reluctant to get involved in any of the actual fighting on the ground against Unita.

On the other hand, the war is becoming increasingly costly to the Angolan government, which has to pay for Soviet and Cuban assistance. In fact, Angola has built up a huge debt to the Russians. The irony is that the main source of revenue, from which Russia and Cuba are paid, is the oil which is produced by an American company.

US policy

The Angolans clearly appreciate that the only hope of future meaningful assistance with economic development lies with Western governments and private corporations, but that that will not be forthcoming while the war continues. As has been shown elsewhere, the Russians are unable to provide the desperately needed economic aid; their influence depends on the provision of weapons and therefore on the

continuation of the conflict. In these circumstances American policy is designed to end the war and get the Cubans out. Then there is reason hope that the Russian grip will loosen, because they will have nothing further meaningful to offer.

For South Africa, too, the costs of the civil war in Angola and the ongoing low-level war against Swapo will increase, the longer these conflicts continue and the Namibian issue remains unsettled. The costs will be felt not only directly in material terms, but also in the damage to our international relations, particularly with Western countries.

Within Namibia itself there are growing political and economic problems which, apart from their tragic effects on the people of the territory, add to the burden on South Africa. A dangerous vacuum has developed in the internal political scene, which aggravates the doubts and lack of confidence about the economic future. The only hope is that the current efforts by some parties to form a credible unified political alliance will bear fruit.

So it must increasingly be in the real interests of both the Angolan and the South African governments to reach agreement on a compromise settlement in this part of Southern Africa. But there is this sort of "chicken and egg" situation, where there must either be an Angolan settle-

an agreement on Namibia possible, or, as the Angolans are demanding, an agreement on South African withdrawal from Namibia and Southern Angola first. Some new and wise initiative will be needed to resolve this dilemma, but it is unrealistic to expect that this will occur soon.

If one now shifts one's focus from these larger neighbouring countries to look very briefly at the smaller and closer neighbours — Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland — one finds similar political and economic problems on a small scale. Their prospects of political stability are affected either by internal strains or by the wider conflicts of the region, or by both. They are also a clear demonstration of the paradox of the region — which applies to all countries mentioned, except Angola — namely political alignment against the South African government and at the same time economic weakness and dependence on South Africa, a dependence which shows no signs at all of being reduced.

This creates a continuing and cruel dilemma for them, which we in South Africa should try to understand, rather than exploit. It is not surprising that they attempt to assert their independence of South Africa by alignment with other states in SADCC and sometimes also by critical rhetoric, as in the case of Lesotho.

SANCTIONS WOULD 'SERIOUSLY' HURT NEIGHBOR STATES

MB051820 Johannesburg International Service in English 1500 GMT 5 Dec 83

[Station commentary: "The Threat of Sanctions"]

[Text] The South African foreign minister, Mr R. F. Botha, has warned the United Nations that sanctions against South Africa would seriously hurt populations in neighboring black states. Mr Botha, on a European tour, declared in London: It would hurt them badly if not destroy millions of them.

Mr Botha's warning is not new nor are the threats of mandatory sanctions against South Africa from the United Nations and other organizations. Over the last few years numerous investigations on the viability and consequences of economic measures against South Africa have been undertaken. The results have been the same: Sanctions cannot work. They will be harmful to South Africa's neighbors and dangerous to the West, which is dependent on South Africa's strategic minerals.

Two years ago the OAU reported that implementing trade sanctions against the republic could unleash a tidal wave of trouble on neighboring states. The OAU report, which spoke of incalculable harm to the rest of the subcontinent, said such a wave would destroy the economies of South Africa's neighbors: Lesotho, Botswana, Swaziland, Mozambique, and Zimbabwe, and even others further afield such as Zambia, Zaire, and Malawi. The report also referred to vastly increased unemployment that would result, adding that social unrest could result in the states concerned.

Last year the External Relations Committee of the European parliament found that sanctions invariably failed because they were not generally applied. There were always suppliers and buyers who found ways of circumventing them, and that those who called for trade sanctions were more concerned with making a political point and propaganda than with practical consequences.

On sanctions against South Africa, the chairman of the committee, Sir (Fred Catherwood), said there was little chance that black states would or could cut their trade ties with the republic. Mr Botha again stressed these facts in London, saying: We are surrounded by neighbors who make use of our infrastructure: ports, railways, airports, clinics, medical services, and job opportunities. We have roughly up to 1 million foreign workers who cross our borders to look for work.

Other points the United Nations and others in favor of sanctions should ponder are that South Africa does business with the outside world in excess of \$30 billion a year, and Africa's share in this market is on the increase, already surpassing the \$1 billion mark. Also, its strategic minerals are indispensable to the free world, its coal is in heavy demand among the industrial nations of the north, and South Africa's domestic economy, including its energy base, has never been stronger and few countries are more self-sufficient.

CSO: 3400/365

SOUTH AFRICA

PROBLEM IN COOPERATION WITH MOZAMBIQUE ON DAM NOTED

MB010750 Johannesburg Domestic Service in English 0500 GMT 1 Dec 83

[Station commentary: "The Mozambique Connection"]

[Text] Cahora Bassa, one of the biggest hydroelectric schemes in Africa, was the focus this week of the continuing debate on cooperation and stability in Southern Africa. The scheme provides an excellent illustration of the main point of the debate: that cooperation across boundaries brings mutual benefits that are unattainable through the separate efforts of the countries concerned, who are themselves the main losers if they reject it.

During the Portuguese leg of his European tour, Foreign Minister Pik Botha was briefed on Portugal's concern about the Cahora Bassa scheme. Portugal has a heavy investment in Cahora Bassa, and returns depend on South Africa making use of the electricity generated by it. But the supply has been intermittent. In fact, it was cut off again more than a month ago as a result of the resistance activities of RENAMO against FRELIMO's internal and regional policies.

In that situation South Africa, with its need to rationalize its own electricity generation in order to save water, is as much a loser as either Portugal or Mozambique. South African-Mozambique relations constitute an especially appropriate test of the ability and willingness of countries in Southern Africa to cooperate, regardless of their political differences. The economic interdependence of these two countries, which politically have fundamentally opposed philosophies, is exceptionally close and highly visible.

When FRELIMO gained power in an independent Mozambique to establish the first truly Marxist state in Africa, as President Machel put it, Prime Minister John Vorster stated his policy for a cooperative relationship. South Africa, he said, was prepared to cooperate in all fields with Mozambique, despite political differences, provided neither side interfered in the affairs of the other. At that time Maputo was a favorite holiday resort for South Africans, who contributed handsomely to Mozambique's revenues. Tens of thousands of Mozambicans found work in South African mines, as they still do. Also still continuing is the rail traffic, highly advantageous to both countries, of Rand imports and exports through Maputo harbor.

But the most dramatic example of interstate cooperation in all of Southern Africa probably was Cahora Bassa. It was designed, on the one hand, to make a significant contribution to South Africa's fast growing electricity needs, and, on the other, to provide huge additional revenue for Mozambique and to open up new agricultural prospects. With its tremendous potential for benefiting both parties economically--which could, however, only be tapped through their joint efforts--it epitomized the subcontinental interdependence.

But the FRELIMO government broke the ground rules. In time, Maputo became the main base for the Soviet-supported ANC terrorist offensive against South Africa. ANC terrorism provoked preemptive and retaliatory strikes, and the ideological preoccupations that led FRELIMO to support the ANC resulted in other areas in the popular disillusionment from which RENAMO was born.

Mozambique is at an impasse. The way out is known to its rulers, and the means are at hand. What remains is the political will to act in the interests of their country and of Southern Africa.

CSO: 3400/365

ANALYSIS OF REFERENDUM RESULTS

Referendum Opponents Criticized

Capetown DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 4 Nov 83 p 18

[Editorial: "Come Build Together"]

[Text] The results of the referendum must have come as a cruelly rude awakening to those party leaders who attempted to motivate the voters towards a no-vote. It is a rude awakening which they duly deserve, and they are welcome to the deep remorse into which they are now sinking.

But a period of serious reflection awaits the voters who cast a no-vote as well. As the feverishness disappears which characterized the referendum campaign, we believe that a considerable percentage of these people will reflect, especially in calmer circumstances, about the way in which the far right and far left party leadership talked them into a no-vote.

On the far right, the Treurnichts and the Marais's did not hesitate to chase the voters away from the government with the worst emotional politics. And on the far left it was the Slabberts and Boraines who ran down the government's reform plans as a big pile of deception and even did not hesitate to arouse black resistance to the new constitution. For this, both groups of leaders paid a high price Wednesday.

That price may become even higher. The majority of yes-votes demonstrated that the white voters of South Africa have more common sense at their disposal than the far right and the far left reckoned. And time may yet tell that, also among those who voted no, a significant core of common sense is present which only temporarily gave way to emotional rousings. It will be worthwhile for these people to pay attention to the hand of reconciliation that Prime Minister P.W. Botha held out yesterday in his victory speech to those who voted no, as well as to his sincere call to come build together a better and stronger South Africa. This can be an exciting challenge for them as well.

Voting by English-speakers

Capetown DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 4 Nov 83 p 18

[Editorial: "English-speakers' Contribution"]

[Text] The contribution made by English speakers towards the large victory for yes in the referendum is undeniable. Judging from the remarkable showings of yes-votes in urban areas in which English speakers constitute a large percentage of voters, the English speaking yes-vote was much larger this time than in the republic referendum of 1960.

The role of the English speaking yes-votes can be seen especially in the electoral areas of Capetown (eight PFP [Progressive Federal Party] seats), Johannesburg (also eight PFP seats), Durban (three PFP seats) and the East Cape (three PFP seats). Among the highest percentages of votes and the largest victories for yes were scored in these electoral areas.

Direct comparisons with the results of general elections is not possible, in view of the fact that it is unknown exactly how votes were cast in the referendum in specific electoral divisions. However, observers think that up to a third of the PFP supporters in these urban areas voted yes, in spite of the fact that PFP leader Dr Van Zyl Slabbert put his own political future and that of his party on the line.

English speakers in Natal made a quite exceptional contribution to the victory for yes. It can even be called a new "Natal Attitude." The overwhelming majority of yes-votes from the opposition ranks came from NRP [New Republic Party] supporters. For this, Mr Vause Raw and his followers deserve the praise and thanks of all who voted yes.

There must have also been a strong PFP yes-vote in the two Natal electoral areas, considering that there were strong PFP majorities in 5 out of 20 seats in the general election.

Referendum and the Future

Capetown DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 5 Nov 83 p 12

[Article by Dawie: "Constitution is a Means to an End: Renewal of South Africa"]

[Text] The referendum has provided the prime minister and his government with an overwhelming mandate.

Mr Botha is of course completely aware of this. This is why he could say so calmly at his press conference that he is acting from a position of power.

But in all modesty, he will realize better than anyone else that, in the critical circumstances of today, an even greater responsibility has been imposed on him.

Expectations

The people who voted for the new constitution did not only vote for the words on a document. Putting the constitution into operation is no end in and of itself; it is the means to an end: the renewal of South Africa. And what will become of it depends primarily on Mr Botha. He has the power. What is he going to do with it?

High expectations have been awakened as to everything that can be brought about within the framework of the new constitution, and expectations which are not to some extent fulfilled are among the most explosive political elements.

New Policy

By nature, there will be an abundance of ideas on what must now be done. Some may agree, others will diverge widely. All of them cannot be carried out.

The task of Mr Botha and his government will be to define realistic priorities. And to reconcile conflicting interests. This is what South African policy will consist of in the future, to an ever increasing degree. It is very different from the policy of the past, and much more difficult.

It is a policy that will have to be perpetrated not only by the government, but by all citizens of South Africa--not the least of all by those who are now about to step up to active politics, the coloreds and the Indians. Just as great a responsibility rests on them as on whites.

Forebodings

In a certain sense, the Conservative Party and the HNP [Reconstituted National Party] have made it easier for the government to move forward with pluck. It can be safely assumed that the government will not contemplate doing everything that those people have precariously envisioned.

With all those far-fetched forebodings, they could claim victory in only one electoral area. Fewer people can be stirred up against reality than against their fabrications.

On the other hand, the hardest demands for the most radical change will now come from precisely those leftist elements who, in line with the Conservative Party and HNP, did their best to make any change at all impossible.

Incidentally, it was striking that Dr Treurnicht, in his commentary on the outcome, appropriated all the no-votes in directing his hope for the future to the "700,000 votes" cast against the constitution. It is only someone like him who can set about to do things like that.

Just As Dangerous

It is a general complaint that in the past "too little" has been done and things have moved "too slowly." Many voted yes in the hope that it will be different

in the future. That hope must not be disappointed, but it will be good to keep in mind the old bit of Afrikaner wisdom that warns against everything that involves a "too."

The government's day-to-day task is to maintain the equilibrium, something for which people in our circumstances have esteem. It is a formidable task. Those who exaggerate so easily by shifting the emphasis to one side or the other can thank their lucky stars that they are not called to choose between the two every day.

New Day

Having said all this, the fact remains that most people in South Africa are looking forward to a new day. In one respect this new day has already dawned at the ballot box, where the language barrier in South African politics has been broken.

For too long, political differences in this country, even when they have had nothing to do with language, have been determined by the difference in language. Afrikaans and English speakers have now stood together in large numbers in a matter of fundamental concern without violating necessary party connections.

This creates an exciting outlook which can become even more expansive as other population groups are increasingly involved as well.

12271

CSO: 3401/16

CLIMATE OF REFORM MUST GIVE BIRTH TO REAL THING

Cape Town THE CAPE TIMES in English 17 Nov 83 p 12

[Article by David Curry, president of the Association of Management Committees]

[Text]

CONSTITUTIONAL change is with us in South Africa. We are now in the whirlpool of change. We are part of this process and have become leaders in constitutional reform. In the past we have seen ourselves merely as followers, as spectators watching a game being played, as mere pawns in a game of chess.

The new constitution is not reform. It is merely the government's reaction to the reform process. True reform must still come. Reform has come in labour relations not because the government wanted it but because it had to. White South Africa had to agree to integration in sport because it wants to enter the international sports arena.

Soap powder

We are all reacting to this reform process. White South Africa for historical reasons will not give off power easily and therefore they voted for a constitution that gives the impression of reform while retaining final decision-making in white hands. The Cape Times had a series of cartoons in which various leaders were asked their opin-

ion of the New Deal Soap Powder. Somebody has jokingly called it Referendum Washing Powder because it makes the whites whiter, the coloureds brighter and the blacks disappear.

The National Party no longer holds the monopoly of dictating the course of events. We are now making our mark and our input is going to affect the South Africa of the future. Because reform is with us, we cannot reverse the process. Neither can we escape our responsibility because through our efforts, our own determination, we have created the platforms for negotiations.

We, in the Association of Management Committees, have entered the conference halls as equals. Of course, we have not reached our goals yet. The government, at present, has no proposals for solving the problems of local government. The very fact that investigations are still going on proves that they are still looking for solutions. All this, in spite of the President's Council.

Vested interests

We still have, at this moment, white autono-

mous councils and management committees. Local government is still in white hands and we are still serving in an advisory capacity. We have no illusions about the road ahead. White vested interests are still a political reality.

Attitudes have changed in South Africa. We still await changes in apartheid legislation. Attitudes are going through a period of transformation. The climate of reform must give birth to real reform. Whites are changing but they must still be converted to removing apartheid legislation from the statute books.

We, on the opposite side, must change our attitude about our own lack of power. We have entered into a power struggle. It depends on us if we enter the halls of power as mere followers or as leaders. A shrewd observer once said that very often at conferences the problems are not on the table, but that they are sitting on the chairs.

We are seeking reconciliation in this country. We are striving for a negotiated settlement. We want to make it clear

that we are not seeking a false peace. We want real reform because true and fundamental change has not yet taken place. The apartheid structure still exists.

A false idea of reconciliation between ourselves and whites is doing the rounds among some of our people. It is presented as the ideal but it is in fact not the proper thing at all. It is presented as the way to achieve peace but it is destructive of any lasting peace.

According to this false idea of reconciliation, all the injustices, all the discrimination and all the social prejudices must now be overlooked so that we and white South Africa can now join hands and be friends. In other words, we must be reconciled even if there are no real changes and even if most of the injustices remain.

Justice

This false idea needs to be rejected and we need to have a proper understanding of what reconciliation means. There can be no true peace, no true friendship, without justice.

Reconciliation involves two things: conversion and forgiveness. There must be conversion or change on the part of those who have created the divisions in our society. And then there must be a forgiveness on the part of those who have been offended and hurt. There must be positive moves from both sides; one must be willing to change and the other to forgive. Both together are the ingredients of reconciliation. This process must be actively pursued and transformed into a programme of action. Our willingness to forgive cannot become an act of forgiveness until whites are willing to change.

This is why we are willing to negotiate and

to use government platforms. If our willingness to negotiate is interpreted as softness, if we are thought of as mere passengers on the road to reform, then white South Africa will be gravely mistaken. The whole history of the Coloured Persons' Representative Council taught us many lessons.

We hope that the government has learned from its mistakes. We are not a body of yes-men. We know that stooge-politics will get us nowhere. We have also learned the game of *come-into-my-parlour-said-the-spider-to-the-fly-politics*. We know that some people have labelled us as blind followers of government policy who offer no criticism. The years have taught us how to participate in politics.

Waiting

The National Party won the referendum. They created the climate of reform and this is why so many whites who are opposed to government policy voted yes. We are waiting for them to deliver the goods because power is in their hands. They defeated the right-wing element in Afrikaner politics and cannot now use the old scarecrow as an excuse for not moving. Some Nats must stop giving the impression that they feel uncomfortable in reformist clothing.

The spotlight will now be focused on us, particularly the coloured people, as to what choice we should make. An important issue has come to the fore that concerns our total community. It is the question of military conscription.

The Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, has made the government's position quite clear. In the year ahead, by a step-by-step process, coloured youth will be con-

scripted into the Defence Force. This important statement has placed an enormous responsibility on leaders of all shades of opinion within our community.

This is why some of us are standing firm on this question of a referendum. Coloured people must let their voice be heard on this issue. The constitution is not yet off the ground and we are being told what the Defence Act means.

We are prepared to defend South Africa but we will not fight to defend apartheid. Apartheid has created severe problems for us with regard to patriotism. We love our country but deep in our hearts we know that we are not happy and that we honestly cannot offer our loyalty. We want to defend a South Africa worth defending.

We are ashamed of apartheid. We bow our heads in shame and disgrace as to what is meted out daily to our fellow South Africans at the squatter camps at Crossroads. We reject completely the policy that declares the Western Province a white and coloured preference employment area. We do not need job reservation between us and blacks. We do not want and neither do we need this kind of economic protection. The govern-

ment must not use the coloured people to justify influx control.

These are some of the issues that are troubling us. Alone the white man cannot fend for himself. Just as we need white expertise and business skills, so whites need our labour. Together all groups have built up this country. Together we keep the economic wheels of this country turning and together we can find solutions.

A united front

What we need is a united front of people irrespective of race or colour who share the conviction that freedom can only be obtained by true reform. As long as the black man is a prisoner in our society we shall all still be chained to a system.

If true reform takes place it will provide the moral argument for the Western powers who are willing to co-operate with South Africa. If true reform takes place, it will be easier for all South Africans to know and accept one another as fellow citizens.

Our society has all the ingredients for conflict. Look at the world scene where violence has taken over. Some of those people also said: "It will never happen to us." We still have a choice, and may we make the correct one.

BARRATT: RELATIONS WITH NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 18 Nov 83 p 11

[Article by Carolyn Dempster]

[Text]

More than anything else it will be relations with South Africa's neighbours which will determine the country's future, Professor John Barratt, director general of the SA Institute of International Affairs, said last night.

Speaking in a panel discussion on the international response to the referendum results, Professor Barratt queried whether it was not the time for the Government to adopt new approaches and initiatives in Africa.

South Africa was so often-obsessed with the West that African reaction was largely ignored.

While this reaction might have credence in power terms, the response of the black African states to South African issues had to be taken into ac-

count, he said.

The outcome of the referendum had strengthened the Government and from this new base there could be three areas for movement:

- To renew the unfinished dialogue with President Kaunda of Zambia.
- To support current Western efforts in establishing links with Mozambique.
- To initiate an approach to a settlement in Namibia.

Commenting on international reaction to the referendum results, Professor Barratt said positive comment from Western countries was based on the expectation that the Government's next step would involve an adaptation to black South African demands.

The Southern African corre-

spondent for the London Financial Times, Mr J D F Jones, said the response to the referendum results in the outside world had been nothing less than "a deafening silence."

People were largely ignorant of South Africa and their awareness was made up of perceptions, prejudices and assumptions. In view of this, the only thing that would have an impact or bring a change in response would be an "implosion" — some sort of exciting policy announcement or development by the Government.

Presenting a highly contrasting viewpoint was South African political commentator and journalist Mr Otto Krause. He stated that South Africa had "historically changed gear" and not too much notice should be taken of the views of the outside world.

GOVERNMENT STRATEGY ON EDUCATION OUTLINED

Reform Process Will Govern Recommendations

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 24 Nov 83 pp 12-13

[Selected articles from Special Report on "Education White Paper"]

[Text]

No decision on recommendations regarding education at the second, or provincial, level can be taken yet as the constitutional dispensation for Whites, Coloureds and Indians at this level has not yet been finalised, the Government says in its White Paper on education.

The White Paper, in which the Government sets out its strategy for education for all within the framework of the new constitution, was released in Pretoria yesterday in response to the De Lange report on education in 1981 and the subsequent education working party's report in 1982.

The education working party has recommended to the Government that a "number of separate second level education departments should be instituted for the various population groups to be responsible for all education in the region concerned, with the exception of education pro-

vided by autonomous tertiary educational institutions."

It has further recommended that a second level council, with legislative powers, should be set up for every second level education department.

With a view to co-ordination, it has suggested, among other, that the national states should be regarded as regions or, where appropriate with a view to functional efficiency, as falling under a particular region.

The goal of second level councils, which should be composed of either directly elected members or representatives of the lower levels of education management, should be to depoliticise decision-making on education.

The education working party also recommends that the functions of second level councils regarding the regional implementation of the Macro education policy it envisages should be to interpret policy, to adopt legislation for its implementation, to supervise

this, and to perform accounting functions and find supplementary finance.

Viewpoint

In its reply, the Government says: "Since the constitutional dispensation for Whites, Coloureds and Indians at the second level has not yet been finalised, no decision on the recommendations by the education working party that affect them can be taken at this stage.

The Government's viewpoint is that since education is an own affair the respective Houses (in the constitution) will have to take the final decisions on the own executive education structures of the three population groups concerned."

With regard to the education for Whites, which is at present the responsibility of the Provinces, no decisions will be taken before the Provinces and certain interested persons and bodies have been consulted, the Government said. — Sapa.

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 24 Nov 83 p 13

[Text]

A "MACRO" form of education policy, leaving room for self-determination for each population group in the proposed new constitution regarding education as an "own" affair, is the essence of the Government's White Paper on the provision of education in South Africa.

The White Paper in which the Government outlines its response to the 1981 De Lange report on education and the subsequent education working party's report in 1982, and their recommendations, was released in Pretoria yesterday.

In its interim memorandum in October, 1981, on the first report, the Government accepted a number of principles, the first of which was "equal opportunities for education, including equal standards in education for every inhabitant, irrespective of race, colour, creed or sex, shall be the purposeful endeavour of the State".

The cardinal premise of the new constitution is the distinction between "own" and "general" affairs, and in which education at all levels are "own" affairs of the White, Coloured and Indian population groups respectively, where it relates solely to a specific group.

Accepted

The Government has not directly accepted a recommendation by the

education working party regarding executive authority at the first level, that there be a single ministry responsible for determining "Macro" policy for the provision of education and for monitoring implementation of this policy.

However, the norms and standards for the financing or running and capital costs of education, salaries and conditions of employment of staff and professional registration of teachers and norms and standards for syllabuses and examinations and for certification of qualifications will be subject to general law.

This was in effect a form of Macro education policy in terms of the new constitution's framework, although the actual term had been discarded, a spokesman for the Department of National Education said when approached for clarification.

The Government says the following educational matters will also be dealt with a "general" affairs within the framework of the new constitution.

Bases

"The provision of bases in accordance with which, and limits within which deviation from the principle of how education in separate education establishments for each population group may be authorised, in so far as this is the wish of own education departments"

"The assembly of required data;

"Co-operative supporting services, as far as this is authorised by the own education departments; and,

"The conclusion of inter-State agreements with independent and self-governing states on education matters."

The Government has decided that although it is still investigating the constitutional position of Blacks within the Republic's borders, any general Act, and general policy relating to these "general" affairs will also apply to education for Blacks — excluding those in the national states.

"It is the Government's intention to negotiate with the national and independent states with a view to the co-ordination of the general policy.

"After commencement of the new constitutional system, legislation on education for Blacks outside the national states will be dealt with by Parliament as general legislation, subject to any general legislation as specified."

Under the new constitutional system, education for a particular population group (White, Coloured and or Indian) will, therefore, be administered as an "own" affair by a Minister who is a member of the Council of Ministers concerned, and education for Blacks, subject to general policy, will be administered by a Minister who is a member of the Cabinet.

The administration of general affairs regarding education will be delegated to a minister who is a member of the cabinet.

The administration of general affairs regarding education will be delegated to a minister who is a member of the cabinet.

Function

"This function will not, however, necessarily be the only function of the Minister concerned and of the Government department for which he is

responsible.

The Government wishes to state unequivocally that the ministers responsible for own education matters will not be subordinate to the Ministers currently responsible for education — the Ministers for National Education, Education and Training, and Internal Affairs. — Sapa.

Parents May Have to Pay More

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 24 Nov 83 p 14

[Text]

THE Government has reaffirmed its view that education need not be completely free, but has at the same time emphasised in its White Paper that the children of poor parents should not be deprived of educational opportunities.

One of the principles already accepted is that equal opportunities for education, including equal standards in education, for every inhabitant, irrespective of race, colour, creed or sex, shall be the purposeful endeavour of the State."

"The Government reaffirms its point of view that education need not be completely free and has commissioned an investigation aimed at arriving at a subsidy formula in terms of which the central Government's financial responsibility towards executive education departments can be calculated."

An inter-departmental investigation is also being undertaken into a system of additional direct financial support by parents for the education of their children, provided that the children of indigent parents should not be deprived of educational opportunities.

The Government is in favour of provision being made, after the necessary consultation, for levies to be collected at the local level in order to supplement the financial resources of schools for particular purposes.

It is concentrating on improving the quality of education provided. "Within the restrictions imposed by the financial capability of the country," in order to achieve the goals set in the principle of equal opportunities for all.

"The Government emphasises that the priority of education has to be determined within the total context of the public services that have to be rendered, and urges that what has already been achieved in eliminating backlogs should be appreciated.

The education working party says in its report there are at present great differences between the four main population groups in regard to participating in education facilities and the provision of such facilities.

Its recommendations imply that a larger percentage of the national budget will have to be spent on education than at present.

Greater Autonomy in 'Own' Affairs

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 24 Nov 83 p 13

[Text]

THE determination of a policy for the management of school education at the local level of Government will rest with each population group's "own" education authority, the Government has decided in its White Paper on the provision of education.

Under the new constitutional system, education for a particular population group — White, Coloured or Indian — will be administered as an "own" affair by a Minister who is a member of the Council of Ministers concerned,

and education for Blacks will be subject to general policy.

The education working party recommended in its report that "schools should be given the highest possible degree of autonomy that is consistent with the orderly provision of education and the move towards parity".

In response to another recommendation, the Government says in its White Paper it accepts the desirability of parent representative bodies at the local level, either for each school or

for groups of neighbouring schools.

"The Government also accepts the fact that as far as is practicable, there should be devolution of decision-making to these parent representative bodies."

In response to another of the education working party's recommendations, the Government says it is investigating as a matter of high priority, ways of empowering local education management bodies to levy and administer school fees. — Sapa.

Plan Will Speed Race Polarization

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 24 Nov 83 p 13

[Text]

THE representative body of teachers in Natal, the Natal Teachers Society, regards the White Paper and educational plans with scepticism — believing they will, among other things, accelerate racial polarisation.

Mr Dave Ryman, president of the NTS, told The Citizen the body regretted that the Government had not accepted the recommendations of the De Lange Commission and the working group without reservation.

"Four years after the start of the investigation — we do not appear to be any closer to resolving the major problems in education in South Africa," he said.

The NTS believed the White Paper and its implementation would result in further polarisation, and entrenchment of the status quo.

It, however, pledged to work within the framework of the State's policy to encourage changes that would bring about a single ministry of education — a step which would lead "to truly equal education opportunities for all South Africans".

In Cape Town yesterday the president of the Union of Teachers' Association of South Africa (UTASA) and the Cape Teachers' Professional Association, Mr Franklin Sonn expressed dismay, "but not surprise" that the White Paper "places education firmly within

the framework of the new constitutional dispensation, and so perpetuates apartheid in the educational system".

UTASA reaffirmed its commitment to the view that apartheid was offensive to human dignity, he said, and that compulsory racial segregation resulted in alienation and hostilities between communities.

Because the government's constitutional proposals required the perpetuation of apartheid, and the exclusion of Blacks from the new dispensation, UTASA found the proposals unacceptable.

"UTASA therefore notes with dismay, but not surprise, that the Government's decision regarding the future provision of education in South Africa, as contained in the White Paper of November 23, places education firmly within the framework of the new constitutional dispensation, and so perpetuates

the apartheid educational system."

Particularly disturbing, he said, was the Government's rejection of the recommendation contained in the report of the Human Sciences Research Council that there be a single ministry of education.

"Particularly reprehensible, in view of the Government's supposed commitment to education of equal quality for all inhabitants, and especially in the light of depressed economic conditions prevailing in our country, is the refusal to waive the requirements of the Group Areas Act in situations where one population groups' under-utilised educational accommodation could be utilised by other population groups," he said.

Disturbing also was the Government's unwillingness to open universities and technikons to bring them in line with labour reforms as suggested by Wiehahn and Riekert reports.

CP, HNP TAKE FIRST STEP TOWARDS WORKING PACT

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 28 Nov 83 p 3

[Article by Jaap Theron]

[Text]

THE Herstigte Nasionale Party and Conservative Party issued statements this weekend indicating they were prepared to consider co-operation towards establishing a conservative bloc against the National Party.

Neither of their statements suggests immediate co-operation the HNP statement in fact spells out the problems still to be bridged — but spokesmen from both sides told The Citizen these were the first steps to establish a "political non-aggression treaty."

Dr Andries Treurnicht, leader of the CP, said in a statement after the CP's head committee meeting on Saturday, the party has decided not to contest the Soutpansberg Provincial by-election and to leave this seat for the HNP to fight out.

He considers this token as a first step towards discussions with the HNP regarding the formation of a practical workable agreement between the two parties.

The HNP does not consider this token as good enough, but is prepared to talk to the CP on co-operation on the basis of a number of political problems which the HNP foresees as stumbling blocks to cooperation.

An HNP spokesman told The Citizen if their problems could be accommodated by the CP "co-operation would be just a formality".

The HNP head committee did not appoint candidates on Saturday for the Soutpansberg's parliamentary or provincial by-elections and The Citizen understands the HNP is prepared to discuss this situation with the CP.

Unlike previous statements by the two party leaders which were harsh and in strong and demanding language — both Dr Treurnicht's and Mr Jaap Marais' statements this weekend "were soft and in an amicable and reconciling tone."

Dr Treurnicht said a long-term practical arrangement had to be reached with the HNP and not only a short-term solution.

An HNP spokesman said the necessary goodwill existed on the HNP side for an agreement, especially because the HNP realised all conservative forces had to be joined in a single front against the Government.

CP sources are now also talking about a single consolidated front, which leaves the impression that the two parties have already informally discussed the matter behind the scenes.

The Citizen in fact understands that informal contact has taken place between the HNP and CP as a prologue to a formal meeting on cooperation.

In his statement Mr Jaap Marais said "The HNP decided at its head committee meeting on Saturday that it was still prepared to discuss cooperation in Soutpansberg with the CP."

Mr Marais said the problems with the CP's proposal that the CP fights the parliamentary by-election and the HNP the provincial by-election, implied that the two parties had to come to an agreement regarding policy matters, a joint elec-

tion manifesto and other issues such as office-arrangements, propaganda, canvassing.

He said it would mean that the leaders of the two parties would have to appear together at public meetings — a move which would have far reaching implications.

Mr Marias said the biggest problem would not be Soutpansberg as such, but countrywide — the agreement suggested by the CP only affected Soutpansberg, while there would be no agreement regarding cooperation elsewhere.

Mr Marais said an alternative for the CP's suggestion was that each party could run its own election campaign — the CP for its parliamentary candidate and the HNP for its provincial candidate.

The HNP had an "open mind on the matter" and hoped further discussions with the CP would clarify the CP's intentions, Mr Marais said.

Mr Marais also issued

part of a document which the HNP handed to the CP prior to their head committee meetings on Saturday.

According to this document the HNP was adamant there could not be another round of talks if its purpose was not to reach any agreement.

"The HNP was also not prepared to enter into discussions the result of which would be the destruction of the HNP.

The principle of a Coloured or Indian president was totally unacceptable to the HNP and so also the idea of a council of cabinets including Coloured and Indian Ministers.

The document stated unless there were a sincere wish that the two parties' powers should be united, it would be better that each went its own way because a false unity in a time of crisis, could be more dangerous for the nation than a hard and honest fight for freedom.

NEW EDUCATION POLICY GETS WIDE ACCLAIM

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 24 Nov 83 p 4

[Article by Jaap Theron]

[Text]

THE Government's new education policy, details of which were released in the form of a White Paper yesterday, has been acclaimed by South African academics as being "a fair system for all."

Teachers associations, including those representing Afrikaans, and English-speaking teachers in all four provinces, Coloured and Indian teachers' associations, as well as the SA Teachers' Council agreed in their comment "that the new system is likely to bring about harmony among the various language groups and populations groups, as well as peace in education circles." Some reservations were aired.

In terms of the White Paper, the new proposals leave room for self-determination for each population group in regard to education as an "own affair."

The Government's own role will be one of establishing systems for the provision of education and to make resources available to maintain these systems.

The administration of education matters will be delegated to autonomous education departments and educational institutions, and it will ensure that matters of "general" concern within the systems are carried out in accordance with a co-ordinated policy.

The Minister of National Education, Mr Gerit Viljoen, said in Pretoria yesterday that equal education opportunities and standards for people of all races in South Africa were the most important points in the Government's new education policy.

He said the Government had accepted the De Lange Commission's recommendation that the State should move in a purposeful way towards establishing equal opportunities and equal standards in education for all population groups.

He said this would have to be done within the financial limitations of the economy and also with cognisance of other social services which also lay claim to priorities.

He revealed that the Government was already

working, as a priority, on norms and standards for the financing of education according to a formula where the overall financing would come from the Treasury and be given to the different executive education departments.

The authorities were also working on norms for buildings and on the provision of other physical facilities in education.

The Whites' South African Teachers Council (SATC) welcomed the emphasis placed by the Government on the part to be played by the teaching profession in a new educational dispensation.

One of the recommendations the Government has accepted in response to the De Lange report is that the organised teaching profession should be given a say in the planning of teacher training.

"The council welcomes the fact that the White Paper emphasises the part to be played by the organised profession in the new educational dispensation," the chairman of the SATC, Professor N T van Loggerenberg, said in Pretoria.

The establishment of a central registration body

for all teachers and a professional teachers' council for each population group concurred with the SATC's recommendations, he said.

The functions and powers of the bodies were, however, not clearly spelt out in the White Paper and they would have to be given priority at a later stage.

"To do justice to the concept of 'professional control' it would be necessary to provide the professional councils with significant powers in connection with the imposition of further requirements over and above the minimum regarding registration, the training of teachers and professional discipline," he added.

The Transvaalse Onderwysersvereniging (TO), said it had fully considered the White Paper on a new education policy for all South Africans and "with single ex-

ceptions fully supports the new policy."

The TO said the Government's decision satisfies Christian demands insofar as there should be equality in the standard of education for all races in South Africa:

- Because it acknowledges each population group's self-respect, which in turn promotes each nation's striving towards group unity; and

- Because it provides a framework for the formulation of an education policy which has the potential to meet the educational needs of all races, thereby improving the quality of life of all South Africans.

The TO, however, stressed the manner in which the new policy would be executed in practice, would play an important role in making it acceptable.

But it also stressed it had no doubt that the

White Paper offered an acceptable basis for the orderly development of education in South Africa.

It especially welcomed the fact that education would be handled by every population group "as an own affair" and that each population group could conduct education according to its specific needs.

The TO said it was not very happy with decision regarding tertiary education "because the policy points to the joint management of tertiary education as a general matter."

It said the White Paper claimed tertiary education was an "own affair" but the proposed structure for tertiary education basically deals with matters of a "general nature."

'Clarification Needed in Some Areas'

THE Federal Council of Teachers Associations in South Africa welcomed the new education policy — based on equality of education for all races — but expressed doubt about some issues that still needed clarification.

The council acknowledged with appreciation that full recognition is given to the organised teaching profession to enable it to make a contribution to, and to have a share in, educational planning at all levels of the provision of education.

The council will therefore take the initiative to make submissions to the Minister of National Education before the formulation of legislation.

The council believes the new education policy will lead to a settled and contented teaching corps, to a separate negotiating

structure which caters for particular needs in the education system; that it will eliminate conflict and unseemly public actions; and that it provides a vehicle for the most effective and professional way of handling issues related to conditions of service and planning at all levels.

The council welcomed the Minister of National Education's assurance that no firm decisions had been taken in connection with conflicting issues and accepted that the council is thus free to make further submissions to him with a view to his presenting, directly to the Cabinet, an acceptable negotiating structure for education.

The council noted the White Paper made little mention of a number of areas commonly associated with professional autonomy.

'Important Step Towards Reality'

ASSOCOM welcomed the proposals as an important step towards developing an educational system tailored to the realities of society.

Mr Raymond Parsons, the chamber's chief executive, said Assocom believed the private enterprise system in South Africa would be strengthened if educational opportunities were improved for all races.

"Until our schools —

especially the Black schools — produce a larger proportion of properly educated men and women capable of being trained, South Africa will not overcome its chronic shortage of skills and abilities.

While Assocom regretted the Government had not found it possible to accept a single Ministry of Education for all races, it acknowledged the advent of the new constitu-

tional dispensation opened other options for handling the situation.

"Noting that many facets of the White Paper have been referred to the Human Sciences Research Council for further investigation, Assocom hopes that the implementation of as much as possible of the White Paper recommendations will not be unduly delayed," he said. — Sapa

Training Decision Acclaimed

THE South African Teachers' Council for Whites has welcomed the Government's new education policy that White, Coloured and Asian population groups will take their own decisions on educational training and discipline.

The Council said under the new policy it would remain the prerogative of each population group to decide on additional requirements for the regis-

tration of its own teachers.

The SATC agrees the quality of education is dependent on trained and motivated teachers.

The SATC said it assumed the professional teachers' councils envisaged would have powers to rightful shares as equal partners, in co-operation with training institutions and authorities.

The SATC thanked the Government for giving attention to the recommendations of the HSRC re-

port on education, but said implications and the implementation of all resolutions were not spelt out in detail in the White Paper.

It said the SATC would retain its functions in training matters and discipline whilst registration function would be taken over by a central registration body made up of representatives of the various professional teachers' councils.

CSO: 3400/355

ADVANCED OIL EXTRACTING TECHNIQUE TESTED

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 19 Nov 83 p 9

[Excerpts]

An advanced technique applied to extract oil for the first time on land in South Africa has been used extensively in developing oil fields in the central United States.

A complicated process known as "fracking" led to the pumping of crude near Wakkerstroom this week. Rock far beneath the surface is cracked to allow trapped oil to escape.

The areas of Dannhauser in Natal and Wakkerstroom straddling the Transvaal-Natal border were both extensively explored by Soekor in the 1960s. Traces of oil were found but these were deemed not worth pursuing, given the extraction methods then available. Soekor was also clearly hoping for a major discovery that would give SA complete independence in energy resources.

Last year a company called Frac-oil was formed to try to extract economic grades and quantities of oil from these regions. It was the brainchild of Ivan Prinsep, a British businessman based in Geneva, and an American oil consultant from Denver, Colorado. His name: Ed Durkee.

A million rand was raised.

Three oil exploration leases, each of some 30 000 hectares, were obtained from Soekor. They were in the Dannhauser, Wakkerstroom and Mount Pelaa districts. Mount Pelaa is north of Harrismith.

Nine wells were drilled — three around Mt Pelaa, four at Dannhauser and two south of Wakker-

stroom, where there were already three holes previously drilled.

Last month the process of "fracking" five wells began.

African Exploration, a South African company with a lot of experience in gold, was appointed to supervise the project. They in turn brought in World Wide Consultants, of Denver, in which Ed Durkee and another oilman, Selmer Pedersen, are partners. Pedersen and an independent American consultant, Dave Banko, arrived to take charge on site with African Exploration representative Dr Bert Mann.

Four wells north and south of Dannhauser were "fracked". Two at Dannhauser South are pumping water but could in time start producing oil. One at Wakkerstroom was fracked. On Tuesday morning the nodding donkey pump at this well began producing a thick crude oil.

After 17 hours some 1 500 litres of crude had been pumped. Then the motor broke down.

Pumping at Wakkerstroom will be resumed to try to determine how much there is. The oil already obtained is to be analysed. Further holes will be drilled to establish the extent of the reservoir.

African Exploration technical director George Abdinor is not making any forecasts. Further work could well prove disappointing. Yet, he says, in mid-America many lowyield wells with relatively inexpensive pumps and running costs are producing economic quantities of oil.

BRIEFS

THESIS CRITICIZES NGK'S THEOLOGY--The racist Calvinistic theology of the Afrikaans reformed churches is not representative of the message of the Gospel, and is not true to alvin's intentions, says Dr Lekula Ntoane, a minister of the (black) Ned Geref Kerk in Afrika. His view is contained in his thesis for a doctorate in theology which he completed recently in the Netherlands. In the thesis, "A Cry for Life: an Interpretation of 'Calvinism' and Calvin", Dr Ntoane said Calvin's theology was, in essence, radical and could be interpreted as support for the black liberation struggle. Dr Ntoane further claimed that there was little difference between the dogmas of a progressive theologian such as Professor Johan Heyns and other conservative "apartheid" theologians. Professor Heyns, moderator of the Northern Transvaal synod of the (white) Ned Geref Kerk (NGK) and dean of the faculty of theology at the University of Pretoria, is generally regarded as one of the most verligte theologians in the NGK. Dr Ntoane, who studied for his doctorate at the John Calvin Academy at the school of theology at Kampen, accuses Professor Heyns of confusing the parallels between scriptural and natural truth, saying the professor's view makes it impossible for the Afrikaans churches to reject quasi-Biblical statements as unbiblical. Dr Ntoane's aim was to study the role of Calvinism and to give a black interpretation of Calvin's theology. [Text] [By Carina LeGrange] [Johannesburg THE STAR in English 18 Nov 83 p 6]

DUMPING 'THREATENS' COFFEE PRODUCERS--The dumping of raw coffee from overseas is a threat to South African coffee growing, according to the South African Agricultural Union (SAAU). Mr Hannes Cronje, chairman of SAAU's coffee committee, said at a coffee conference organised by the Consumer Foundation in Pretoria that South African coffee producers could grow high quality coffee at world price levels, but to realise its potential, the dumping of raw coffee from overseas should be phased out. Another problem was the extremely low quality of imported coffee, Mr Conje said. South Africa was one of the few countries in which there was a demand for the lowest of coffee grades, Mr Cronje said. Almost all the coffee consumed in South Africa was of a floor-sweeping quality. Mr Conrje had had a look at a sample of coffee from a ship unloading in Durban and was amazed to find foreign objects like pieces of twigs and leaves and even insects in the coffee. South African coffee was being grown in the border areas. The Government was willing to spend large amounts of money to make decentralisation succeed. It cost R28 000 to provide a job for one worker in heavy industry, but it cost the coffee producer only \$6 000 to do the same. One coffee farmer could provide work for 180 blacks. They

could stay in the homelands and work on the coffee farm without the Government having to provide for infrastructure. Mr Conje said that coffee growers could produce economically on the basis of the international coffee price. These prices were available by telex on a daily basis. The coffee that South Africa could grow compared favourably with the coffee produced by any other country. South Africa could supply its own needs in coffee, and SAAU called on the Government to make this possible. [Text] [Johannesburg THE STAR in English 18 Nov 83 p 12M]

SPANISH TRADE MISSION--The first trade mission under the banner of the newly-formed South African Chamber of Commerce in Spain has arrived in South Africa and aims to lay the foundation of increasing two-way business. At a Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce function to welcome the 12 members of the mission, the general secretary of the Madrid chamber, Mr Carlos Sanjuan, said: "We are here to establish good contact with South African business and want to promote trade generally between South Africa and Spain." The existing trade balance is in SA's country's favour, having sold to Spain last year goods to the value of \$120 million, with imports achieving about half at \$65 million. "While we would welcome a better selling performance on our part, we are not primarily concerned about reversing the trade balance, but attach more importance to increasing values in both selling and buying and in spreading our contact base in South Africa," Mr Sanjuan said. It is a bold effort by the Spaniards, in view of the fact that they face a disadvantage in exchange rates. Buying from SA is unfavourable because of the depreciation of the peseta against the rand. During their seven-day stay in SA the Spaniards will be making a hard-sell of products ranging from executive furniture and mining trucks and tractors to footwear. A representative from the red and white wine-growing region of Rioja is seeking an agent in SA. On the other side of the trade scale, representatives are wanted to buy from this country diamonds, food and raw materials for the production of stock-feeding. [Text] [Johannesburg THE STAR in English 22 Nov 83 p 19M]

ANALYSIS OF BLACK MARKET--Blacks will account for the consumption of two thirds of South Africa's non-durable products and for 40 percent of all retail sales this year, according to the Bureau of Market Research. No wonder marketers are spending more time on the "growing black giant", and on working ways of reaching this market. To help, the marketing division of the Argus Printing and Publishing Company has published the "Black Market Book", an extensive analysis of the market and a reference source for marketers and their advertising agencies intent on better understanding and communication with the black consumer in South Africa. Information in the book is as follows: Population trends, distribution, urbanisation and projections to the year 2000. Black housing--distribution, electrification and trends to the year 2000. Income and employment levels--household income trends, expected changes in personal income, employment trends by occupational category and how this is related to education. Purchasing and consumption patterns--retail sales and growth, consumption of durable and non-durable products, black consumer activities and shopping behaviour. Black literacy and use of media--TV, radio and print audiences are described in terms of demographics and analysed by penetration performance. An analysis of advertising expenditure to the black market illustrating the "gap" between market share and advertising share across a wide range of products

and services. The Black Market Book is available from The Argus Marketing Division, Post Office Box 1014, Johannesburg 2000. [Text] [Johannesburg THE STAR in English 18 Nov 83 p 13M]

ISANDO CONTAINER TERMINAL--The Department of Transport Affairs was planning to establish a second container terminal in the City Deep cratage area, at Isando near Kempton Park, the Minister of Transport Affairs, Mr Hendrik Schoeman, said last night. Mr Schoeman was addressing the Kempton Park Afrikaanse Sakekamer at a dinner in Kempton Park. It was envisaged that the terminal, which would serve the Isando and Spartan areas, would be operational by 1987, he said. The terminal would eventually be able to handle up to 50 000 containers a month. There were also plans to build a \$5,2 million depot for the SA Transport Affairs district engineer and his staff at Kempton Park and extend the jet engine workshop at Jan Smuts Airport at an estimated cost of R4,5 million.--Sapa. [Text] [Johannesburg THE STAR in English 18 Nov 83 p 12M]

CANDIDATES' HOMES FIRE-BOMBED--There have been petrol bomb attacks on the homes of five candidates for town council elections in Port Elizabeth African townships. The attacks came early this morning, causing limited damage to the houses. Police said they are investigating arson. All five candidates were at polling booths for the elections today--the elections of a new town council to replace the current community council system. Police have mounted a heavy presence at the polling booths. [Text] [MB011352 Umtata Capital Radio in English 1300 GMT 1 Dec 83]

CHANGES IN GOVERNMENT ORGANIZATIONS--The prime minister, Mr P. W. Botha, has announced details of structural and other changes in his department. Mr Botha said in a statement released in Pretoria that the changes, which had become effective on the 1st of this month, had been brought about to obtain a more efficient substructure in the functioning of the prime minister's department. Mr Botha said that in view of the department's largely supportive function, its name had been changed to the Office of the Prime Minister. The post of the head of the department had been upgraded to that of director general, with the designation secretary general. The present secretary of the department, Dr (Jannie Roux), has been appointed to this post from 1 December. Other changes were the extension of the cabinet secretariat, in order to provide a better administrative and professional supportive service to the cabinet and cabinet committees, and an additional component for policy analyses and advisory services. [Text] [MB061017 Johannesburg Domestic Service in English 0500 GMT 6 Dec 83]

ISRAELIS TO OPEN CISKEI FACTORY--An Israeli company is establishing a factory in the Republic of Ciskei. The Ciskei People's Development Bank says in a statement released in (Bhishu) that the investment involved in the first Israeli undertaking in the country amounts to 2 million dollars initially, and will create 150 jobs during its first year of operation. The textile plant of (Ciscotex Ltd) will go into production in May next year, and further development is expected. The bank says 13 other Israeli firms have applied to invest up to 20 million dollars in Ciskei in schemes which will create 2,000 new jobs. [Text] [MB020908 Johannesburg International Service in English 0630 GMT 2 Dec 83]

NAVY TECHNICAL ABILITY BOOSTED--CAPE TOWN--The South African navy is to increase its self-sufficiency in the field of technical training because of the complexity of small ships now in service. Speaking at a prize giving ceremony at the weekend, Vice-admiral A P Putter, Chief of the Navy, told students and apprentices of the South African Defence Force Technical College at SAS Wingfield that small ships best served the navy's needs. "Naval planning has determined that small ships will best serve South Africa's defence needs. Ships are extremely complex." Mr Andre du Preez was awarded the prize for the best all-round student at the college. There is one other defence force college in South Africa--at Verwoerdburg. Outside Pretoria, Sapa. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 28 Nov 83 p 12]

FOREIGN COMPETITION FOR FERTILIZER FIRMS--IMPORT control on fertiliser could be phased out gradually from January 1 the day that price control on fertiliser is to be abolished, the Ministries, Commerce and Tourism, Dr Dawie de Villiers, said in a statement. This would be done by taking into account surplus stocks and unutilised production capacity which had resulted from the drought. "In order to ensure that local fertiliser prices are brought more in line with international prices, it is necessary to subject local manufacturers to the disciplines of foreign competition," Dr De Villiers said. He said the Board of Trade and Industries had completed its investigation into the restructuring of fertilised tariffs. Its complete report would be tabled during the next parliamentary session. The board had recommended ad valorem duties of between 15 percent and 30 percent on certain products and that all existing rebate provisions be repealed. "The existence of rebate provisions has a detrimental effect on the domestic supply structure," Dr De Villiers said. The new dispensation would place the fertiliser industry on a sound competitive footing, which would benefit both the consumer and the industry.--Sapa. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 28 Nov 83 p 12]

AFRIKAANS TEACHER'S MEETING--In Cape Town the Suid-Afrikaanse Onderwysersunie has come out in support of the White Paper. The Chairman of the Afrikaans Teachers' organisation, Mr H E Franzsen, said SAOU would hold an extraordinary executive meeting in January to consider in more depth the Government's proposals and its recommendations. Mr Franzsen said the SAOU supported the following issues: The Christian character and broad national character of education and the principle of mother-tongue education and own schools and departments for each of the population groups. That decisions on the allocation of functions, presently made by the Provinces, in future be made only after consulting the organised teaching profession. The South African Council for Education, a Ministerial advisory body. That there was a need for professional educators to exchange ideas on common educational matters and the possibility that such opportunities would be created at education management level to discuss service conditions, could contribute fruitfully towards obtaining coordinated and equal conditions of service for all population groups. A government undertaking to first investigate the feasibility of a modular structure as serious doubts surrounded a system which could bring about the lowering of educational standards. Mr Franzsen said it was clear that the financing of education was going to be given serious attention and that note had been taken of the various enquiries into other matters.--Sapa. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 24 Nov 83 p 4]

NEW MRC NUCLEAR CENTER--SOUTH AFRICAN medical research aimed at improving the diagnosis and treatment of serious human disease, such as cancer, will enter a new era with the advent of the National Accelerator Centre at Faure. The Medical Research Council (MRC), which assumes responsibility for coordinating and financing all medical research at the centre, recently announced the establishment of a new Research Institute for Acceleration Applications in Medicine (RIAAM) and the appointment of the director of the institute, Dr Sinclair Wynchank. "The Accelerator Centre will become operational during 1984 and it is essential that the medical research component be ready to take full advantage of the new and exciting opportunities offered by this national facility," Professor A J Brink, president of the MRC, said. The new MRC institute will initially, be situated at the MRC head office in Parow. In terms of an agreement reached by the MRC, the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR) and the Cape Provincial Administration (CPA), the CPA will be responsible for the administration of a 30-bed hospital at the National Accelerator Centre. This hospital will house patients who are too ill to be transported but who need the specialised radiological treatment available at the centre. This treatment will also fall under the auspices of the CPA. The MRC will be responsible for the medical research done at the centre, while the CSIR will administer the centre, together with the physical nuclear research component. Dr Wynchank, the new director of the MRC institute, is both a nuclear physicist and medical doctor. [Text] [Port Elizabeth EVENING POST in English 15 Nov 83 p 5]

NEW SEA RESEARCH JOURNAL--SOUTH Africa's first international Journal of Marine Science was launched in Cape Town yesterday. The first issue was presented to Mr John Wiley, Deputy Minister of Environment Affairs, at a function attended by Dr J Serfontein, chief director of the Marine Development Branch of the Development Branch of the Department of Sea Fisheries, and Dr L Botha, deputy director of the Sea Fisheries Research Institute. The journal will take the place of the Fisheries Bulletin of South Africa. It will be edited by fisheries biologist, Mr Andrew Payne, and published by the Sea Fisheries Research Institute. Aimed at the international and local scientific marine community, it is intended to cater for the results of original research into the marine environment off Southern Africa. Mr Payne said contributions on all disciplines of research, would be welcomed from scientists in South Africa and elsewhere. [Text] [Cape Town THE CAPE TIMES in English 15 Nov 83 p 13]

WATER PROJECT WITH LESOTHO--Ficksburg--"Despite political differences the governments of South Africa and Lesotho are determined to proceed with the viability study for the proposed Lesotho Highlands Project, the estimated total cost of which runs to about 1,500 millions." This is what Mr Theo Robbroeck, directing engineer (water resources) of the Directorate of Water Affairs, stated. Mr Robbroeck was talking at yesterday's opening of the new water pipe conduit from the Meulspruit Dam at Ficksburg which he termed as "the last link in the chain for securing a reliable source of water for Ficksburg." He praised the Ficksburg community and especially the municipal council for their farsightedness in engaging in a water project of so great a scope which has cost the community about 2.2 million rand for the dam and the pipe conduit. According to him, not only has this "reliable source of water" overcome the last obstacle in the way of the community's unhindered growth, but now industrialists will also be able to invest in the area with greater confidence. Mr Van Robbroeck said: "The project will also enable Ficksburg to provide water to Lesotho. The decision has been made to invest 20,000

rand in a pipe conduit which will make it possible to provide water for the planned industries on the other side of the border at the request of the Lesotho National Development Corporation. The economic interaction across the borders holds great advantages for both countries." Thanks to the pipe conduit Ficksburg has been one of the few towns in the Free State which has not imposed water restrictions as a result of the drought, not even once, when the Caldeon River, which supplies the town with water, dried up last month. [Text] [Bloemfontein DIE VOLKSBLAD in Afrikaans 29 Oct 83 p 27] 7964

SOVIET WEAPONS IN ANGOLA--The last reports on the increasing Russian involvement in the dragging and bloody Angolan civil war must be disturbing news for all the people who are putting a high premium on peace and stability in southern Africa. The UNITA announcement to the effect that 32 ships loaded with Russian tanks and other weapons have recently arrived at Angolan ports, while a Russian general has taken over command of the offensive against UNITA, indicates that Russia has made up its mind to maintain in power the faltering MPLA Marxist government in Angola. It is obvious that the consequences and the effect of the most recent Soviet actions are not going to be limited to Angola, but are going to reach much farther. In reality this is greater confirmation of the fact that Russia and its satellites have become the greatest destabilizing force in southern Africa. This development makes it clear beyond all doubt that the warnings given repeatedly by South Africa and several other Western countries, with respect to the Marxist threat in the subcontinent, have not been merely pulled out from thin air. Hopefully, there will now be greater understanding, especially among Western circles, of the South African point of view that the presence of Cuban and of other Marxist forces in Angola represents the greatest stumbling block in the way of a peaceful solution of the differences over South-West Africa. It is becoming increasingly clear that there can be no talk of peace in the South-West as long as there exists a serious Marxist threat across the border. [Text] [Editorial] [Capetown DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 9 Nov 83 p 14] 7964

CISKEI DEVELOPMENT--According to a statement of the Ciskei Peoples Development Bank industrialization in Ciskei, with respect to investments as well as new job opportunities, has increased by more than 100 percent in less than 2 years. An investment of more than 200 million rand in all sectors and more than 20,000 new jobs have been brought about in Ciskei by the Ciskei Peoples Development Bank since 1976. This is the bank which was previously known as the Ciskei National Development Corporation. More than half of the development has taken place in less than the two years of Ciskei's attainment of independence. Groups ranging from the South African Brewery, the Frame Group, Protea Holdings, Pick 'n Pay, the Megafese-group of Spain and a number of other overseas companies, including three of them from the United States, have already invested in Ciskei. At a time when Ciskei is being subjected to criticism from many places it is striking that foreign as well as South Africa enterprises are discounting such criticism and that the new state has taken its place as the fastest growing one among the black states. During the past 3 months nine new projects have been approved. The new industries represent an investment of more than 15 million rand and will be

creating about 2,000 new jobs. Surely the most encouraging aspect of this development is the creation of work at an average cost of just over 7,000 rand per job position; this being up to 3 times less than elsewhere in southern Africa. Still another indication of Ciskei's success is that in the midst of an almost worldwide economic recession, actually one-third of all the industrial enterprises established in Ciskei have found it necessary to expand within the first 2 years of their establishment. Text Pretoria BEELD in Afrikaans 8 Nov 83 p 18 7964

CSO: 3401/23

PEOPLE WANT PERMANENT SOLUTION TO MEAT SHORTAGE

Dar es Salaam DAILY NEWS in English 1 Dec 83 p 1

[Editorial]

[Text] A BIG question mark hangs over the current meat shortage facing Dar es Salaam and other major towns in the country. For quite some time now residents of the city and those in other leading towns have been going without the protein rich item.

The concerned authorities have been quick at advancing reasons, trying to explain away the situation. But one thing is obvious: Tanzania is not a livestock deficit country.

There are in fact more domesticated animals in the country than the human population. Recent estimates put the livestock population at 13.5 million cattle; nine million goats and sheep; 100,000 pigs and over 25 million poultry.

Considering these figures, it goes without saying that we are in a very comfortable position, especially for a country whose population is now nearly twenty million people.

Why then are we forced to experience meat shortages when in actual fact we should be self-sufficient in the commodity?

According to the Tanzania Livestock Marketing Company (TLMC) the problem is attributable to peasants in the livestock keeping areas.

Here we are told that cattle owners are usually reluctant to sell their animals through auctions during this time of the year apparently because their animals are underweight for lack of proper grazing land.

While this argument holds water to some extent, we still believe that the issue has not been carefully studied with the aim of finding a lasting solution to the problem.

For example, there is the question of transportation, which more often than not has greatly contributed to the slow and intermittent delivery of animals to areas where they are badly needed.

A case in point is the over 3,000 head of cattle which last week were reported stranded in Tabora and Dodoma regions for lack of railway wagons to haul them to Dar es Salaam.

Our investigations have revealed that the animals could not be moved in time because wagons had not been lined up in advance to undertake the responsibility.

The responsible institutions have to pull up their socks and organise themselves properly, ensuring efficient purchasing and transportation of livestock to meet the needs of the people.

What the people want to see is a permanent solution to this recurring problem. Eradication of this problem will be of great benefit to the people and the nation as a whole.

CSO: 3400/373

GOVERNMENT TO SET UP MATERIALS BALANCING SYSTEM IN NEXT FISCAL YEAR

Dar es Salaam DAILY NEWS in English 1 Dec 83 p 1

[Text] THE Government has decided to introduce materials balancing system starting the next financial year, a press statement issued in Dar es Salaam by the Ministry of Planning and Economic Affairs said on Tuesday.

Shihata, quoting the statement, said the basic purpose of the system was to plan the use of key materials such as cement, construction steel, roofing sheets and bitumen which were vital to the implementation of development projects.

It said the intention was to ensure that the approved projects were not only assured of the necessary finances, but also received an allocation of these key materials to facilitate smooth implementation.

The press release said that during 1984/85, the plan would put great emphasis on the directly productive sectors in conformity to the Structural Adjustment Programme.

Given the importance of the agricultural sector in the generation of foreign exchange and provision of food both of which are in short supply, the tentative allocation of the total development budget resources to this sector has been increased from 24 per cent in 1983/84 to 30 per cent in 1984/85", the release said.

The agricultural sector would be defined to include crop production, livestock development and soil conservation associated with agricultural production.

It said that at the project level, highest priority would be placed on completion of on-going projects. "New projects will be undertaken only where they contribute to rehabilitation and increase capacity utilisation", it said.

The statement said the plan guidelines would also emphasise self-reliance in the implementation of the national development plans. It said people would be encouraged to formulate and implement such projects which would ensure rapid development.

DEPUTY MINISTER STRESSED IMPORTANCE OF DONORS' AID TO TRC

Dar es Salaam DAILY NEWS in English 30 Nov 83 p 1

[Text] THE Tanzania Railways Corporation (TRC) technical conference of donor countries and agencies ended here yesterday with the donors showing willingness to help finance TRC's 38 proposed projects amounting to 1,634m/-.

The next conference to finalise pledges and project selection would be held in the first week of May, next year, in Brussels, Belgium.

The conference was officially closed by the Deputy Minister for Communications and Transport, Ndugu Henry Limihagati, who is also the Chairman of the TRC Board of Directors.

Ndugu Limihagati emphasised the importance of the donors' assistance, saying that without their help TRC could not meet the transport demand of the country and neighbouring landlocked states of Burundi, Rwanda, Zaire, Zambia and Uganda.

He said the recent re-opening of the border between Tanzania and Kenya would also provide an added traffic to the two countries and their transit traffic.

The Deputy Minister also assured the donors of Tanzania's readiness to provide whatever additional information they might need in the planning process.

He also told the technical conference that the Government was giving serious consideration on the question of tariff structure of the TRC and that he was hopeful a final decision would have been made before the next pledging conference took place.

During their two days of deliberations, the donors expressed concern over TRC lower tariff, saying that they were not economical for effective operation of the railway.

According to the TRC General Manager, Ndugu Tom Mmari, the donors had called for statistical data and explanations from the management, which he said was supplied.

He said they also informed the technical conference on the setting up of a costing unit which is vital to management.

The TRC management also accepted the advice of the technical conference to improve its performance and review its major bottlenecks in operation rail, road and in-land marine services.

Ndugu Mmari said the donors expressed sympathy with TRC for the poor state in which it was operating and proposed some reclassification of priorities shown in the TRC report of projects.

Countries which have so far assisted or pledged assistance to the TRC are the Federal Republic of Germany, Britain, Canada, Sweden, Denmark, Kuwait, Austria, Italy, Finland and the European Economic Community.

CSO: 3400/373

MINISTER, PRIME MINISTER HAIL FINLAND'S ASSISTANCE, COOPERATION

Minister's Remarks

Dar es Salaam DAILY NEWS in English 29 Nov 83 p 1

[Text] TANZANIA has hailed Finland for the assistance and cooperation extended to the country, saying relations between the two countries were excellent.

The praise was given by the Minister for Lands, Housing and Urban Development, Ndugu Tabitha Siwale, in a dinner she hosted in honour of the visiting Finnish Minister for Environment, Ndugu Matt Ahde, at the Motel Agip in Dar es Salaam last night.

She said Finnish technical assistance to Tanzania had been positive and programme-oriented. "We are very grateful for the excellent services rendered to us by the Finnish experts working in many sectors of our country".

She said Finnish aid had been instrumental in the development of various fields in Tanzania, particularly forestry, wood industries, water development, construction and mining.

She also paid tribute to Finland for increasing the resources allocated to Tanzania and providing these in the form of grants.

She observed that Finland had assisted in the preparation of regional physical plans for the Uhuru Corridor zone covering Mbeya, Iringa, Morogoro and Coast regions and had just completed the plan for the Lake Zone.

Ndugu Ahde said his country would this year extend to Tanzania 206m/- (95 million Finnish marks).

He added that subject to parliamentary approval, Finland would make more resources available between 1984 and 1986, to increase capacity of implementing programmes jointly agreed on.

The Minister reiterated his country's support for the Namibian people in their struggle for independence, saying the basis for achieving peaceful independence laid in the UN Resolution 435.

He also reiterated support for the southern African states to reduce dependence on apartheid South Africa by coming under the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC).

Sokoine on Finnish Aid

Dar es Salaam DAILY NEWS in English 30 Nov 83 p 1

[Excerpt] TANZANIA has appealed to the Finnish Government to speed up technology transfer on tractors assembling and spare parts manufacturing for Valmet tractors agreed between them five years ago.

The Prime Minister, Ndugu Edward Sokoine, made the appeal yesterday during talks with the visiting Finnish Minister for Environment, Ndugu Matti Ahde, who had called on the Prime Minister.

Ndugu Sokoine said Tanzania needed the tractors to increase agricultural production. He said Tanzania needs at least 3,000 tractors a year.

It was agreed that, Finland should provide technology for the assembling and manufacturing of spares for Valmet tractors.

Ndugu Sokoine also appealed to the Finnish Government to speed up construction of a 90-kilometre road between the Minjingu phosphate project and Arusha. The 193 million/- project is financed by Finland.

On gold mining, Ndugu Sokoine said it was high time the Finnish Government started exploitation of gold in Kahama District, Shinyanga Region. The project is financed by Finland.

Earlier, the Premier briefed the Finnish Minister on Tanzania's political and economic situation. He said Tanzania was spending between 60 and 64 per cent of its foreign exchange reserves for oil imports.

He recommended Finnish aid to Tanzania and assured Finland that the aid Tanzania receiving went where it was intended.

Finnish Report on Lake Zone

Dar es Salaam DAILY NEWS in English 30 Nov 83 p 3

[Article by Musa Lupatu]

[Text] UNDERUTILISATION of resources in the Lake Zone has been cited as one of the major development constraints that has resulted in low yields especially in peasants' farming activities.

According to a report prepared by the Department for International Development Cooperation of the Finnish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, this, together with

increasing shortage of arable land, limited financial resources and concentration of non-farming activities in a few urban centres were further compounded development problems.

The report, titled "Lake Zone Regional Physical Plan", has been prepared for the Ministry of Lands, Housing and Urban Development as a guide to organised land use for accelerated development. It was handed over to the Minister, Ndugu Tabitha Siwale, by the visiting Finnish Minister for Environment, Ndugu Martti Ahde, in Dar es Salaam yesterday.

It has been prepared in three volumes covering the structure plan up to the year 2,000, urban land use, and the development plan, 1981 to 1990.

As a guide to future development planning in the Lake Zone, the report notes that development planning should be comprehensive to ensure efficient co-ordination among the agencies, both government, parastatal and private.

"Resource utilization, resource allocation and the development of use of manpower should be based on regional initiatives or identified critical local problems rather than on broad national objectives", it notes, adding that regional development strategy should be geared towards improving the standards of living of rural people through provision of socio-economic infrastructure and planned urban economies.

According to the report, shortage of arable land is notable in areas where grazing and crop cultivation co-exists and in highly populated areas. Limited financial resources was affecting maintenance of existing social and economic infrastructure inhibiting effective commercial interaction between urban and rural areas, it says.

Concentration of manufacturing and commerce activities in few urban areas alone is not conducive, the report points out, saying they should be spread in other urban centres so that these could absorb more people from rural areas facing land shortage.

According to the report, industries are only concentrated in Mwanza, Shinyanga and Musoma.

The report has further charged that lack of efficient system to plan and co-ordinate development activities undertaken by various agencies was not ideal for the exploitation of benefits.

Regional authorities should mobilise additional resources of regional development finance both local and foreign, the report advises, adding that in order to synchronize planning at that level, regional planning teams need to know the current and future development programme of each agency.

The report, covering Mwanza, Shinyanga, Kagera and Mara regions, notes with regard to agriculture, livestock and fisheries that these are carried out in traditional ways. Fisheries is plagued by obsolete techniques, lack of organised marketing systems, lack of storage facilities and inadequate financial resources for the procurement of modern fishing equipment.

Agriculture, which is basically peasant, is losing its traditional objective of house-hold self-sufficiency in food, resulting in chronic food deficits in the Zone apparently because of loss of arable land.

The report says lack of land is a direct result of over stocking. But while cattle grazing is not commercialised, and therefore of no immediate financial benefits to peasants, it is responsible for the subsequent rapid urbanization in the region.

The report advocates migration and increased production of agricultural products as the only two options of solving the problem of land shortage. It is noted in one of the reports that demand for food is going to surpass the regional supply especially in Mwanza and Shinyanga regions.

"Migration should be accepted as a rational solution and planning of new settlements should be given first priority in all immigration areas", it says, adding that voluntary movement to areas with basic infrastructure has shown elsewhere in the country to be more rapid than in places with just potential land for agriculture.

On increasing food production at subsistence level, the report concludes that this can only be attained through intensification of agriculture or through establishment of large scale farms. Large scale farms are more tempting because they are capital rather than labour intensive, and that it is easy to calculate financial returns and projects output, the report adds.

Regarding social infrastructure, it is noted that there are great variations between regions and districts as far as number, capacity and distribution of health facilities is concerned. And while existing networks of school cover almost all registered villages, half of them have full range of standards, the report adds.

It is estimated that population in the whole region would be 6,460,000 people by 1990, and as such 2,180 more hospital beds would be needed on top of the present 5,187. The highest need of this will be in Shinyanga and Kagera regions, according to the report.

Likewise, the report says that 26,000 more classes would have to be built before that period for population to match with national aspirations of providing primary education to all school age children.

CSO: 3400/373

NBC CHAIRMAN NOTES PROBLEMS AFFECTING PARASTATAL FINANCING

Dar es Salaam DAILY NEWS in English 1 Dec 83 p 1

[Article by Hamidu Bisanga]

[Text]

INADEQUATE capital structure of borrowing parastatals, poor planning, lack of a competent management, inadequate financial control and diversion of loaned funds are some of the problems that have limited the ability of financial institutions in playing much more effective role in national economic development.

This was said here yesterday by the Chairman and Managing Director of the National Bank of Commerce (NBC), Ndugu Amon Nsekela, when presenting a paper on "Financing the Public Sector in Tanzania" to the on-going annual convention of the Board of Internal Trade (BIT) at the Arusha International Conference Centre.

Ndugu Nsekela told the BIT group managers that many borrowing parastatals had been established without adequate equity capital as a result of which credit facilities granted by the Bank to meet their working capital requirements were diverted to meet the needs that would otherwise have been met by equity capital.

He said some parastatals were formed without proper feasibility study and planning to establish their viability.

In this regard, operations of such institutions were not viable and thus endangered credit funds.

Debt collection system between parastatal and government departments was still not satisfactory with many parastatals having outstanding claims, either from the Government or other parastatals.

This, he said, affected their liquidity and the consequent non-payment of NBC credit. The Regional Trading Companies (RTCs) were a case in point.

Ndugu Nsekela said another problem was brought by the fact that most crop authorities ended up with large shortfalls at the end of every crop season due to weak capital, price differentials between producer and consumer, non-payment of extension services by the Government, poor management, high overhead costs and overestimation of expected crop.

This led to the NBC experiencing considerable difficulties in getting the crop authorities to adhere to agreed repayment schedules, locking up substantial amounts of the Bank's loanable funds which would otherwise have been used for other development needs while at the same time affecting NBC's liquidity position.

There also appears to be a lack of competent accounting staff in many of the parastatals, resulting in improper financial control and record keeping with assessment of current financial position made extremely difficult.

Ndugu Nsekela said the problem was further compounded by marketing, distribution and transport problems.

However, he said, despite the problems the financial institutions had not fared badly in financing the public sector in Tanzania.

He said while commercial banks' deposits included only 40 per cent of public sector deposits, the lending to the public sector by the banks was roughly 90 per cent of all lending activities.

BRIEFS

ARREST OF CDA OFFICIALS--A NUMBER of officials of the Capital Development Authority (CDA) have been arrested following findings of a probe committee on alleged malpractices in the CDA, according to a police source quoted by Shihata in Dodoma. But the source refused to comment further on the issue, saying that he was instructed not to say a word to the press, Shihata said. When approached, the Minister of State in the President's Office responsible for capital development, Ndugu Samwel Sitta, said he had "nothing to say". However, according to other sources, the arrested officials might appear before the Special National Anti-Economic Sabotage Tribunal, which will meet in Dodoma on December 5. [Excerpt] [Dar es Salaam DAILY NEWS in English 29 Nov 83 p 3]

SWEDISH PULP PROJECT GRANT--SWEDEN will provide Tanzania a 160m/- grant for financing the Mufindi Pulp and Paper Project. According to an agreement signed in Dar es Salaam on Tuesday, the money will be used to purchase project equipment over a period of five years. The Principal Secretary in the Ministry of Finance, Ndugu Fulgence Kazaura, and the Swedish Ambassador to Tanzania, Ndugu David Wirmark, signed the agreement on behalf of their respective governments.

CSO: 3400/373

PAYMENT OF TWENTY-ONE MILLION KWACHA DEBT TO JAPAN DEFERRED

Lusaka TIMES OF ZAMBIA in English 30 Nov 83 p 1

[Text]

PAYMENT of K21 million which Zambia owes Japan has been deferred under an agreement signed in Lusaka yesterday between Finance Minister Mr Luke Mwananshiku and the Japanese ambassador to Zambia Mr Oiji Seki.

The rescheduling of the debts was based on conclusions reached during consultations Zambia had with the 'Paris Club' last May.

Among the debts to be rescheduled is a K5.7 million Overseas Economic Cooperation Fund Zambia received from Japan, about K9.2 million from the Export Import Bank of Japan and other Japanese private banks.

The third was a K7.3 million Zambia received as commercial debts insured by the Japanese government.

Mr Mwananshiku praised

Tokyo for its continued assistance to Zambia.

He pointed out that recently, the Japanese government built a children's wing at the University Teaching Hospital (UTH), apart from tractors and vehicles provided for hauling agricultural produce.

The minister added that the signed notes would look at the possibility of expanding the economic and technical co-operation between the two countries.

"The signing of these notes, therefore, will open a new chapter aimed at intensifying cooperation with Japan," he said.

Mr Seki said the occasion would strengthen the existing cooperation between Lusaka and Tokyo.

West German government is making available about K25 million concessionary loans to Zambia for 1983-84.

This came to light in Lusaka yesterday when the Zambian Government and Germany signed an economic agreement.

Of this amount about K19 million is earmarked for project assistance and about K6 million to be used in sectors of particular importance for development.

The Zambian delegation was headed by National Commission for Development Planning permanent secretary Dr Ephraim Kaunga, and the Bonn team was headed by the director of cooperation with Southern Africa in the ministry for economic cooperation, Dr Rainer Barthelt.

The technical cooperation projects, for which an amount of up to K14.5 million was made available, are designed primarily to promote rural development and increase agricultural production.

CSO: 3400/368

SHESHEKI RESIDENTS SEEK INCLUSION OF FAMINE RELIEF PROGRAM

Lusaka TIMES OF ZAMBIA in English 1 Dec 83 p 5

[Text]

SESHEKE residents east of the Zambezi River have sent an urgent appeal to the Government to include them on the famine relief programme.

To emphasise the seriousness of the situation, they have dispatched the area governor Mr Boniface Mapani and five councillors to meet the provincial leadership in Mongu.

The team is pressing for urgent consideration by the Government to extend the famine relief zone to include areas east of Zambezi which have equally been hit by the three-year drought.

The Government has only included west of Zambezi in its famine relief programme which include Sinjembela, Mutomena, Natukoma, Mbolomoka and Imusho areas.

Provincial political secretary Mr Peter Chanda, who earlier this year visited Sesheke, was briefed during his meeting at Lusu, Machu and Mwandi.

The Government has meanwhile bought food for supplying to the famine-stricken areas of chiefs Mwanya, Kazembe and Chitungulu areas.

Governor Mr James Nyirongo said the district had received 4,000 bags of maize, 200 cartons of edible fats and

389 bags of milk which would be distributed to families as soon as transport was available.

Mr Nyirongo said this in Lundazi yesterday when he welcomed Eastern Province Member of the Central Committee Mrs Betty Chilunga who is on a familiarisation tour of the area.

Mrs Chilunga urged the local people to increase food production to make the area self-sufficient in its food requirements to avoid famine.

The Party and its Government would in future not grant food supplies to areas which failed to produce enough to feed themselves, she said. — Zana.

BCC TO INCREASE INVESTMENT IN AGRICULTURAL RESOURCES GROWTH

Lusaka TIMES OF ZAMBIA in English 30 Nov 83 p 4

[Text]

THE Bank of Credit and Commerce (BCC) has ploughed K20 million into agriculture to supplement Government efforts in food production, chairman Mr Vernon Mwaanga said in Livingstone yesterday.

The bank attached great importance to agricultural lending because it was only food producing countries in the world which held the key to the future and not those producing oil.

He said this when he officially opened the fifth and last branch of the bank in the tourist capital.

He told the invited guests since the bank came into operation in October 1981 major emphasis had been placed on agricultural invest-

ment which represented 40 per cent of the total lending.

"It is the intention of the bank to increase its investment in agriculture resources grow. We attach great importance to agriculture."

The money had been loaned to farmers through the Agricultural Finance Company (AFC) and Southern Province Cooperative Marketing Union (SPCMU). Undisclosed sums of money would be lent to the Zambia Agriculture Development Bank soon.

BCC would spare no efforts in helping the Government to revive the economy.

Mr Mwaanga said there had been a deterioration of goods in terms of trade from developing countries and Zambia was part and parcel of that situation.

"With proper financial management the economy of Zambia should pick up from the available resources. We have the manpower to do that. We should utilise these resources rather prudently so that we are able to support basic needs."

The bank which started operations with a capital of 2.6 million dollars looked forward to taking part in the industrial growth of Livingstone, including the provision of services to the tourist and manufacturing sectors.

Mr Mwaanga called on the people to make use of the bank especially farmers.

ENROLLMENT OF GRADE ONE PUPILS IN LUSAKA LEADS TO PARENTAL OUTBURSTS

Lusaka DAILY MAIL in English 30 Nov 83 p 1

[Text] ENROLMENT of Grade One pupils was conducted in Lusaka yesterday amid tension and angry outbursts from thousands of parents whose children were turned away due to lack of sufficient school places.

A survey in the capital revealed huge turn-outs which outstripped by far the limited school places available at most primary schools.

In some cases, the atmosphere was emotion-charged as irate parents protested strongly against alleged irregularities in the enrolment.

However, ugly scenes were averted at most schools because of the presence of policemen who kept vigil at the main entrances to the schools.

Muleya Primary School recorded a turnout of 2,000 prospective pupils and their parents, but only 160 were enrolled because there were only four classes of 40 pupils each.

The school's acting headmaster Mr Israel Phiri said: "We managed to, contain the situation because we kept the parents outside the fence and only allowed in the pupils who were to be registered."

At Chaisa Primary School which had only three Grade One classes, 120 pupils were enrolled and 800 others turned away due to lack of places.

The headmaster, Mr Steven Bwalya, said most parents rushed to his school in the hope that it had more places being a new institution, but they were disappointed.

Emniasdale Primary School recorded a turnout of 650 Grade One hopefuls, but only 200 were registered. It was one of the few schools with five Grade One classes. The headmaster Mr Berrison Mulungushi described the situation at his school as "peaceful and calm."

But, an on-the-spot check at most schools revealed contrary evidence as angry parents whose children were turned away protested against alleged unfair treatment.

It was discovered that although some parents spent nights on the queues, their children were not enrolled because the majority of those taken on were registered through the "back door".

One of the allegations made was that a number of parents whose children were enrolled used friends or relatives among the headmasters, teachers and members of the Parents Teachers Associations (PTA's).

And a riot almost broke out at Lotus Primary School in Lusaka during yesterday's enrolment exercise.

Quick action by few policemen averted a nasty situation by angry parents. Pandemonium and tempers broke out when some parents who had reported late tried to force their children in front.

CSO: 3400/368

BRIEFS

FAMINE RELIEF HINDERED--Lack of transport had hampered the delivery of emergency food supplies to the starving villagers of the Luano valley in Mkushi district, provincial permanent secretary, Mr Wamundila Mukelabai said in Kabwe. Mr Mukelabai was commenting on reports reaching Kabwe that a number of villagers including some civil servants were fleeing the area because of starvation. [Text] [Lusaka TIMES OF ZAMBIA in English 30 Nov 83 p 2]

RUBBER PLANTATION PROJECT--THE ZAMBIA Bata Shoe Company has embarked on an ambitious rubber plantation project in the country, a company spokesman said in Lusaka yesterday. The firm has already confirmed that an area in Luapula Province earmarked for the project has all the right potential for the development of a rubber-growing industry. The spokesman explained that in order to assess the viability of the project, the company recently flew in an expert in rubber from the Rubber Research Institute in Malaysia. He visited the proposed project located in Luapula Province with the aid of Leyland Zambia who provided transport and was accompanied by Bata officials. "The visit proved very successful and it was confirmed that the area has all the right potential for the development of a rubber growing industry," the spokesman said. [Excerpt] [Lusaka DAILY MAIL in English 1 Dec 83 p 7]

WAGE INCREASE 'NOT AUTOMATIC'--ACTING General Secretary of the ZCTU, Mr Samuel Lungu said in Kitwe yesterday that the 10 per cent wage increase was not automatic and would only be awarded to workers who have not had increments since the imposition of the interim wages policy. He said that an impression has been created in some quarters that all workers in the country would be paid new salaries under the 10 per cent arrangement when this was not so. The ZCTU had received a number of complaints of queries from affiliated unions and employers seeking clarification on the matter as workers had been demanding to be paid new salaries. Mr Lungu said that workers who have been given increments before the wage ceiling was imposed were not entitled to new increases within the 10 per cent framework. "Those who are affected by this are those people whose negotiations for new collective agreements were suspended following the imposition of the ten per cent wage ceiling by the government" Mr Lungu said. He also reiterated his call to unions to ensure that higher salary increases were given to the lowly paid workers than those in the high income group as had been done by Mineworkers Union of Zambia (MUZ). [Excerpt] [Lusaka DAILY MAIL in English 30 Nov 83 p 1]

FRG IRRIGATION AID--THE West German government is to provide about K9 million to help Zambia promote irrigation in some arid parts of the country. The money will be used to rehabilitate maize mills in the country. Bonn has set aside about K14.7 million to improve water supply and upgrade some squatter townships in Zambia. Director of cooperation with Southern Africa in the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation Dr Rainer Bartheld said in Lusaka he was happy the Zambian Press, radio and television emphasised their coverage on the need to boost agriculture in the country. Dr Bartheld told the permanent secretary in the Ministry of National Commission for Development Planning, Dr Emphraim Kaunga that during President Kaunda's visit to West Germany the two countries signed an economic agreement of about K27.8 million. Dr Kaunga has praised the good relations between Lusaka and Bonn in the field of development cooperation. [Excerpt] [Lusaka TIMES OF ZAMBIA in English 1 Dec 83 p 1]

FINNISH TRUCK DELIVERIES--ZAMBIA has this year received 186 Sisu trucks from Finland which have been distributed to various district councils, Minister of State for Decentralisation and Local Government, Mrs Mavis Muyunda said yesterday. And in addition, the Finnish Minister of Environment, Mr Matti Ahde promised a further 165 from next year. The trucks, which are in the country, are "backed up" by spares, Mrs Muyunda said. She was thanking the Finnish government for helping Zambia solve some of her problems. Finland has sent an expert to help maintain the vehicles. He started work yesterday. Finnish authorities have provided mobile workshops for the vehicles. The Finnish minister said his government had decided to increase aid to Zambia to further strengthen the existing relationship between the two countries. [Excerpt] [Lusaka TIMES OF ZAMBIA in English 1 Dec 83 p 5]

FERTILIZER SMUGGLING CONDEMNED--EASTERN Province Member of the Central Committee Mrs Betty Chilunga has warned people living along borders with neighbouring countries against reselling fertilisers and other essential commodities. Mrs Chilunga who is on a week-long tour of the province made the warning at two separate meetings in Chama and Lundazi districts at the weekend. She said the Party and its Government spent millions of Kwacha importing fertiliser to boost agricultural production. It was painful to learn that some Zambians in border areas were smuggling fertiliser into neighbouring countries in exchange for either goats or other commodities. She warned that this should stop immediately and anybody caught in the illicit trade would be dealt with severely. [Excerpt] [Lusaka TIMES OF ZAMBIA in English 30 Nov 83 p 2]

CSO: 3400/368

NYAGUMBO DISCUSSES COUNTRY'S SOCIALIST TRANSFORMATION

Gweru MOTO in English No 18, Nov 83 pp 5-7

[Text] IT is not the Government's policy to nationalise industry. Instead, Government believes that it should put up its own industries to compete with the private sector.

This view was expressed by the Minister of Mines Cde Maurice Nyagumbo who is also the National Organising Secretary of ZANU(PF), during an interview on the Government's socialist objectives and how these are being realised.

It has been suggested in many quarters that conditions laid down at the Lancaster House Conference had altered the party's socialist objectives by making it difficult for the Government to nationalise the means of production. To this Cde Nyagumbo replied, "It is the Government's view that nationalisation is not the right thing for any socialist government to do. Instead, the Government believes that it should, side by side with the private sector, get expertise in industrialisation then put up its own industries which will compete with the private sector."

Once the Government had established its own industries, and could prove that they were as viable as the private sector, then that sector would melt by itself as its prices would not be able to compete with those of state owned industries because the state would not compete on profitability but would only gear itself to servicing the nation.

Encouraging foreign investment would not entrench capitalism in Zimbabwe as some people feared Cde Nyagumbo said. "I do not foresee any difficulty in the Government's thrust towards socialism because of that. The main reason why the Government has cut down on investment is because funds have been diverted for reconstruction of the country's infrastructure while others have been diverted to drought relief.

The recession has left a lot of people unemployed, and therefore without a means

of livelihood. The Government was encouraging investors now as it did not have investment capital but at the same time wanted people to be employed.

Another reason why the Government was not yet participating fully in investment was because of lack of expertise, "We still do not have the expertise to run our own industries. When we have trained our own manpower, then we can establish our own industries as we will be assured at that stage of proper management."

The land issue has always been central to Zimbabwe's politics with critics arguing that the Nationalists got a raw deal at the Lancaster House conference, but what is ZANU(PF)'s position on the issue?

According to Cde Nyagumbo, ZANU believes that the land belongs to the people,

but at the Lancaster House Conference, the party was compelled and succumbed to the conditions imposed on it because the other parties at the conference would have had an excuse for excluding it if it had rejected the policy of buying land for resettlement. "We would have wanted to take over the land without paying any money because we believe strongly that the land was never bought from the inhabitants of this country."

Asked what progress the Government had made in the transformation of Zimbabwe to a socialist state, Cde Nyagumbo said the establishment of free health for those earning below \$150 a month and free primary education for all were the first steps in the establishment of the welfare state.

The Government was also trying to assist those willing to form co-operatives in agri-

culture, manufacturing or retail business adding, "We have seen some co-operatives already starting, for example in Mount Darwin, there is a group of people who have successfully formed a co-operative and we have retail co-operatives in places like Headlands, and Kubatsirana weaving co-operative has been established near Goromonzi."

Comrade Nyagumbo however pointed out some of the problems the Government faced in trying to establish co-operatives. One of these was the recession which made it difficult to get foreign currency for buying machinery while the drought had diverted Government funds into buying food instead of promoting and assisting co-operatives.

In Matabeleland, dissident activities had tended to slow down government programmes there. Various agricultural projects which had been organised in the area had been disrupted by dissident activities.

Cde Nyagumbo said that about 75 percent of the co-operatives which have so far been established are successful while those which have failed have done so because of lack of expertise.

He said however that the government

would not force people to join co-operatives. "We do not believe in coercing people but in giving them examples where they will see the benefits of joining co-operatives. For example, those who have joined co-operatives have got assistance from the Government like tractors and extension services. The people living in the surrounding areas now see the benefits. They also see that those in a co-operative produce more and they have been able to raise their standard of living. Coercion on the other hand will not make people feel that they belong to an establishment, they will feel imprisoned."

Asked if there were any ideological differences between ZANU(PF) and ZAPU, and if these existed, how much they had influenced the ruling party's ideological direction, Cde Nyagumbo said that although there were ZAPU members in Government, ZANU still pursued socialism and this had not been influenced in any way by a mixture of the different parties adding, "After all, ZAPU pronounce socialism although in reality they don't appear to be socialist. They tend to go with our views as socialists."

Turning to the ideological differences between ZAPU and ZANU(PF), Cde Nyagumbo said that those were in practice but in theory there were none. As an example, he cited the ZAPU leader who on coming back into the country had acquired a lot of property which in most cases had been in his name, something one hardly found in ZANU structures. "When arms caches were found on the farms, most of the senior members in ZAPU did not know anything about it. So in theory, it is absolutely true that there are no ideological differences but in practice, there is a vast difference between ourselves and ZAPU."

Asked if ZANU could change into a one party state before unity with ZAPU was achieved Cde Nyagumbo said that unity with ZAPU was not necessary for the formation of a one party state: "We believe that the people should decide whether to have a one party state or not. I think we are almost at it now because as a party, ZANU has been able to penetrate into areas where it was solely a one party state for the other party. Now we can claim that we have the majority of the population as our members and they believe in our policies and these people at some stage will be given a chance to make a choice as to whether in fact we want a one party state."

However Cde Nyagumbo refused to be drawn into committing himself to a time limit for the establishment of a one party state saying, "We would like to continue to ask the people until they are completely satisfied that it is useless to have many

parties. The RF is crumbling just as many other political parties. They see for themselves that they have no hope of forming a government. The achievement of a one party state will come about through the wishes of the people rather than through the unity of various parties."

Answering a question as to how effective he thought the ZANU party structure had been in educating people about socialism, Minister Nyagumbo said people were beginning to see, specially in the rural areas, through the assistance they were getting in agriculture, health and education, the change in their lifestyle and therefore the need for the socialist ideology. "But in the cities, there is still confusion, you get people squealing about prices that have gone up and they don't seem to see the reason why this happens, but then again it is our daily task to educate them as to why this is necessary. To

this end, the party has been conducting seminars throughout the country, and these are meant to teach people socialism and how it is necessary to follow that ideology."

Critics of Zimbabwe's socialist path have often pointed out that although Zimbabwe pronounces itself to be socialist, social services provided by the state in capitalist countries like Britain far surpass what Zimbabwe has to offer but still those countries lay no claim to being socialist. In view of this, they argue, is Zimbabwe any different from the capitalist countries?

Commenting on this, the Minister said that at present the difference was still slight but the Government's desire was to continue to improve socialism in industry. "We are trying to implement worker participation in industry so that both employers and employees learn to appreciate the mutual problems they face. For example in mining,

the asbestos mines are faced with problems because of the recession, but we have had both workers and management approaching us and bringing suggestions as to how these problems could be solved."

Addressing law students and lecturers at the University of Zimbabwe, Professor Ghai from the University of Warwick in Britain recently pointed out the lack of commitment on the part of political leaders as one of the reasons for the failure of socialism in Africa.

How much could this be seen as a factor in our situation, specially bearing in mind that the Prime Minister earlier on in the year castigated Government officials for amassing wealth?

While admitting that there were some individuals within the party who felt they had to have some things for themselves, Cde Nyagumbo however pointed out that they were compelled by the party ideology to pursue the correct party line adding, "When the Prime Minister spoke out against ministers who were trying to amass wealth, he was only warning those who were taking a different way to our policy. I think the situation has now been brought under control."

Some observers have pointed out that

Zimbabwe's heavy reliance on aid from capitalist countries like the United States will not only slow down the implementation of socialism, but pressure will increasingly be brought to bear on Zimbabwe to side with the United States in international disputes if the aid is going to continue. This comes in the wake of reports that the USA was planning to cut aid to Zimbabwe because of its abstention from voting on the Korean airline disaster issue.

Minister Nyagumbo however denied this contending that when Zimbabwe asks for aid, it makes its position clear as a socialist non aligned country so that those who assist the country do so on that understanding adding, "We will not be deterred from our socialist policies because of aid. Before aid is given, we explain our position. We will not be party to quarrels which are not our own as in the case of the Korean airline disaster."

There has also been talk in Zimbabwe specially in the business sector that Zimbabwe's socialist rhetoric was scaring away investment but the Minister denied that this was the case.

"Perhaps if we had nationalised industries, then investors would have reason to fear," the Minister said. So far there has been no reluctance on the part of investors because of our socialist policies. If there are any investors who want to go into partnership with us, they are welcome, but this is entirely up to them. What has really kept investment down is the general state of the world economy."

Zimbabwe has a fairly large educated middle class but does ZANU(PF) not see them sabotaging the revolution and entrenching themselves as a separate class, to the exclusion of the rest of the population? Cde Nyagumbo does not see them posing a threat, "I do not fear that some monster called the black elite will jeopardise the revolution because we are educating people on socialism and this is being accepted so that no single class of people will or can make people follow them."

"We do not believe in the elite, they must identify with the rest of the people. To this end, civil servants are encouraged to attend political meetings since they are responsible for implementing government policy. They must involve themselves with the people so that they will know what the people want. This way they will not live in a class of their own." □

CSO: 3400/351

ARTICLE EXAMINES REASONS INVESTORS STILL CAUTIOUS

Gweru MOTO in English No 18, Nov 83 p 35

[Text] "INVEST, expand, create jobs, produce the goods and services or perish" — this was the Minister of Finance, Economic Development and Planning's July budget message to the private sector.

Zimbabwe is not alone in its concern over the hesitancy of investors. Indeed, some argue that given the overall international slow-down, Zimbabwe is in better shape than many like-countries. But the feeling pervades that given Zimbabwe's favourable infrastructure, resources, skills and relatively sound economic management, the incentives and assurances given investors — their performance — world recession aside — could have been better.

What differs in the opinions of private sector representatives, government officials, academics and observers, is the perception of the extent of the failure, and the reasons behind it.

The issue arose recently with an opinion piece in *The Herald* arguing that the main reason why "the leaders of free enterprise are withholding on investment is that they see in Zimbabwe today all sorts of imaginary socialist gremlins threatening profits". Yet, the piece contended, while investors are sitting tight on Zimbabwe, which offers terms as attractive as any Third World country, the same companies are pouring money into China and more avowed socialist states.

The article sparked a response from the Confederation of Zimbabwe Industries (CZI) which criticised it primarily for ignoring what investment has been made in Zimbabwe of late. This rebuttal provided some empirical data on most recent years — information as yet unavailable in the Central Statistics office.

A recent CZI survey of industry, with figures adjusted to 1982 prices, shows investment dropping from \$250 million in 1981 to

\$179 million in 1983. But the CZI pointed out that this year's figure is still higher than at the peak of investment in the seventies (\$110 million in 1975) and that only two percent of the companies reviewed in the survey registered zero investment this year. While the CZI was concerned that more investment is not taking place, it stressed that the investment which has come in should be "acknowledged and praised".

Among private sector people interviewed here, socialist rhetoric was generally not seen as a major hindrance to investment. Sam Gozo, vice chairman of the Harare chapter of the Zimbabwe Chamber of Commerce, and a prominent businessman who recently returned from a trip to woo European investors, said that at election time the West undoubtedly wanted Muzorewa to win because they distrusted Mugabe's socialist stance. But that phase has passed, he said. Government made it clear that the public sector could not go it alone and, in the Tran-

sitional Development Plan invited 49 percent private sector investment.

The American company Heinz, now frequently cited as a proto-type of the relationship government would like with investors, took the plunge in late 1982 by going into partnership with the government in a \$30 million venture in which Heinz has a narrow 51 percent control. Still, in the US, there is concern about what direction Zimbabwe is taking, according to Harare businessman T.G. Tracey. He told *The Herald* on his return from a recent Western tour that Zimbabwe's quasi-socialist experiment continues to raise doubts about future security among potential American investors. But like Gozo, Tracey found that socialism did not bother Europeans, who, Gozo said, "understand Zimbabwe's efforts to create a welfare society".

In Zimbabwe, where most companies are foreign-based but have a high degree of local participation due to economic sanctions in the past, local representatives tend to remain ultra conservative and especially sensitive to black government changes. Their attitudes take longer to thaw, Gozo agreed. "But even their fears have largely subsided," he said.

What Gozo found a greater deterrent, especially to prospective investors, is the red tape and passing-the-buck between the various ministries investors must go through. Roger Riddell, chief CZI economist, cited "institutional factors" like the government's recent refusal to sign an investment code — the sort other socialist countries have — as a significant impediment.

Minister Bernard Chidzero argued recently that the constitution guarantees against rash acts like expropriation, that investors themselves differ on what such a code should cover, and that a code suggests, "we don't trust these boys". But Riddell countered this by saying that it is the failure to sign it which elicits distrust. "If you are in Dallas, you don't read the Zimbabwean constitution," adding "when you can make nine percent interest by leaving your money in the bank, there have to be very compelling reasons to invest it in unknown Africa."

The private sector representatives agreed, as government has often pointed out, that the already dim picture of Zimbabwe has been worsened by negative press coverage this year on the security situation in Matabeleland, and, recently, by the redetention of the white airforce men acquitted of sabotage charges. They also concurred with the sentiment in *The Herald* opinion piece, but not fully explained, that there is a sneaky bias against the country.

Gozo found this especially true in Britain, where he said the view exists that Zimbabwe's "civil war" has only "temporarily subsided". Riddell compared the positive Western press coverage of Kenya's one party state elections with the hackles raised any time Zimbabwe as much as mentions converting to a one party state.

"Zimbabwe has an unavoidably high profile overseas," Riddell said. "It has white settlers. It has a black government. It is strategically located. All these factors focus undue attention on the country and especially on its faults — issues which in other areas may never even hit the international news."

RADIO TRUTH ABHOR UK TRAINING FOR 'TORTURERS'

MB020904 (Clandestine) Radio Truth in English to Zimbabwe 0430 GMT 2 Dec 83

[Station commentary]

[Text] Perhaps the most horrifying story to break during the past week has been the discovery by a British newspaper of Britain's part in training torturers for Zimbabwe. Men condemned by a Zimbabwean judge for their brutality and dishonesty have been enjoying British hospitality and cash hand-outs under the guise of overseas aid.

They belong to a team of thugs who have tortured and abused many captives, among them the six Zimbabwean Air Force officers and a host of other white captives. According to the London SUNDAY NEWS OF THE WORLD, the Zimbabwean interrogators used electric shocks to force confessions to alleged crimes, burned one captive between the buttocks with a red hot wire brush, attached electrodes to another man's private parts and toes, and threatened to shoot, maim, and burn their victims alive. Yet the heads of this torture squad have been attending overseas command courses at the police staff college at (Brantshill) in Hampshire.

The NEWS OF THE WORLD named three of them as being Deputy Commissioner (Govati Mora), Chief Superintendent (Richard Muremba), and Assistant Commissioner of Crime (A.N. Muruverwe). (Mora) and (Muremba) were named by Justice Enoch Dumbuchena as the men behind the torture campaign, and were labeled by him as being brutal and dishonest. (Muruverwe) has openly boasted of his role in the torture of the airmen. According to British police officers attending courses at (Brantshill), he is a bit of a joke because he spends much of his time trying to convert them to Marxism. But he and his fellows are no joke to the remaining white officers languishing in prison in (Chikurubi).

The NEWS OF THE WORLD's correspondent in Harare has reported that the white community has been horrified by the stories leaking out about the torture of the air force officers. The knowledge that the torturers are being trained in Britain has sickened and infuriated white Zimbabweans.

CS0: 3400/359

BRIEFS

BEITBRIDGE DAM BUILDING PROJECTS--BULAWAYO. MORE than \$5 million worth of dam building projects are under way in the drought-stricken Beitbridge district. The Deputy Minister of Water Resources and Development, Cde Joseph Kaparadza was in Beitbridge on Tuesday and reassured residents that when completed the projects would spare them from the ravages of any further droughts. In the Mtetengwe communal lands in Beitbridge, work will start next week on the expansion of the Tongwe River Dam to raise its carrying capacity. Ministry planning engineer Cde Victor Tapfuma said once the dam has been raised it would expand the nearby Tongwe irrigation scheme. Cde Kaparadza said the dam should be able to supply water to the Mtetengwe communal area, Tongwe Primary School, a clinic, and the irrigation scheme. According to the resident engineer, Mr Malcolm Barker, the Beitbridge off-river storage dam No 2, is four times bigger than the present dam and would probably be finished by July 1985. [Text] [Harare THE HERALD in English 24 Nov 83 p 9]

ACCORDS WITH ROMANIA IMPLEMENTED--ZIMBABWE and Romania have made important steps towards the implementation of the agreement signed between the two countries in July, the Romanian Ambassador to Zimbabwe, Cde Gheorghe Badrus, said yesterday. Speaking at a news conference in Harare, Cde Badrus, singled out the mining, agricultural and broadcasting agreements as the ones that were now being implemented. "The agreement signed in July between the two countries was an historic and important event for both countries which have established good relations," he said. He added that a representative from a geological state company in Romania was already in Zimbabwe to explore areas of co-operation in the mining industry. The ambassador, who was speaking to mark Romania's 65th anniversary next week of the formation of Romania as a unitary state also said that his country was committed to the liberation of Namibia and South Africa and supported resolution 435 on Namibia in "word and spirit". He said his country acted for the development of the friendship and collaboration with all socialist, developing and non-aligned countries. Romania would never allow the deployment of nuclear missiles on its territory adding that millions of dollars were being spent to produce arms of destruction when half the world's population was living in misery, hunger and poverty. [Text] [Harare THE HERALD in English 25 Nov 83 p 4]

CAPITAL BASE BEING DEPLETED--ZIMBABWE is eating away its capital base without renewed investment from the Government or private sector the secretary for Finance, Economic Planning and Development, Cde Thomas Mswaka, said yesterday.

Addressing a one-day Mashonaland Chamber of Commerce seminar, on Industry's Role in Zimbabwe's Economic Recovery, Cde Mswaka said that for 12 years Government consumption had been rising and as a result large sums of money were taken from the economy and directed into current consumption without any going into investment. "The short-lived economic boom which followed independence lulled us into levels of Government expenditure which turned out to be virtually unsustainable in the face of the very severe world recession." Added to this was the drought which affected major agricultural exports and destroyed a significant portion of the internal markets. Cde Mswaka said that these factors had an adverse affect on the profits made by industry. Both, he said, the price control mechanism implemented by Government further squeezed the margins of return. "A combination of recession and the price control mechanism means that we came out of the recession with little or no investible surpluses available to industry. This is a matter that must seriously worry both Government and the private sector." [Text] [Harare THE HERALD in English 24 Nov 83 p 3]

EXPORT RECOVERY PREDICTED--THERE will be a major improvement in Zimbabwe's exports next year, Professor Anthony Hawkins of the department of business studies at the University of Zimbabwe has predicted. He told a meeting organized by the Mashonaland Chamber of Industries in Harare yesterday he believed the Zimbabwe economy would "bottom out" in the first half of 1984 if normal rains fell and the "fragile and pedestrian world recovery stays on course". The bottoming out would be accompanied by a resurgence of agricultural and manufacturing output. But although exports would improve, there would be less scope for increased import quotas. "Depending on the agricultural season, real Gross National Product should be rising and inflation falling by the second half of 1984, though I doubt whether GNP growth will much exceed 3 per-cent." Industrialists should prepare for a strengthening upturn by focusing on strategic planning, product innovation, manpower training and market research--particularly into export markets. "Specifically, it seems to me that manufacturing should become increasingly export-conscious. If our experience of the past year has taught us anything, it is that we need a more diversified export base in terms of products and markets," he said. [Text] [Harare THE HERALD in English 24 Nov 83 p 1]

PUBLIC SERVANTS SHOULD BE POLITICAL--THE public service should be political like the people it serves, the Minister of Legal and Parliamentary Affairs, Dr Eddison Zvobgo, said last night. He said it was not possible for Government workers to behave as if they were in a "capsule" serving the interests of the Government and not those of the ruling political party. Cde Zvobgo was addressing the Public Services Club at a Harare hotel on the constitutional reform and the role of the party. "The public service staff are in the service of the people and should starve with them if they do," he said. Previous regimes had politicised their government workers and they advocated the Rhodesia Front regime. He said these people needed the regime's ministries and some public servants who were apolitical had resigned in their thousands preferring not to share the same vision of the changes with Zanu (PF). "Our view is therefore that we should sustain and defend our independence so that we can implement the development programmes which our people have dreams about. Zanu (PF) will not close its doors to anyone, from the permanent secretary to

the uniformed forces. All are free to join the party," he said. [Text]
[Harare THE HERALD in English 24 Nov 83 p 1]

DEPENDENCE ON EXPORTS CRITICIZED--TO be economically healthy, Zimbabwe should move away from dependence on exports, the Minister of State (National Co-ordination), Senator Tarisayi Ziyambi, said this week. Closing the Mashonaland Chamber of Industries seminar in Harare, he said: "Dependence on exports acts as a constraint on economic growth in times of world recession. "Every crisis in the industrially developed countries causes a sharp decline in the demands for our exports. Most difficult is the position of suppliers of agricultural and mineral raw materials. "And the export-orientated branches of our country's manufacturing industries, even under favourable world conditions, still suffer from protectionist policies effected through high import duties." Cde Ziyambi said there was a deeper structural cause of Zimbabwe's economic problems than reliance on export markets. "All nations engage in trade. Why is it that some are better able to weather the storms than others? "To a considerable extent, they rely on their ability to utilise their raw materials internally in such a manner that the various sectors act as suppliers of inputs to each other. "While this can be said for our economy, it is not on such a scale as to provide the economy with the necessary immunity from recession. [Text] [Harare THE HERALD in English 25 Nov 83 p 5]

AMBASSADOR HOTEL TO CLOSE DOWN--HARARE'S Ambassador Hotel closes down at the end of this month because of lack of business, an appointed liquidator told the hotel's workers yesterday. Mr Michael Field, told the workers that the hotel had faced financial problems and was being sued for thousands of dollars by the pension fund of the National Railways of Zimbabwe. The company had lost over \$1 million. The workers complained to the liquidator that they had not been informed in sufficient time to look for jobs but Mr Field said the hotel had faced a drop in business "and it kept on hoping that things would change". Bookings at the hotel had dropped from 40 percent to 30 percent. He said the sharp decrease in tourism had affected the hotel and it had been worsened by negative Press reports overseas. Mr Field told the workers that Industrial Marketing (Pvt.) Ltd "poured" \$862 000 into the hotel to keep it going and stood to lose over \$1 062 000 because of the closure of the hotel. The NRZ was also demanding its \$960 000 owing to the pension fund and had charged interest of \$80 000. From December 1, the liquidator would be employing the workers, estimated to be over 140, on a day-to-day basis until the middle of the month. He could not tell whether there were enough funds to pay the workers their pensions until he looked at the books. Mr Field hoped there would be a buyer who would take over "everything" including the workers. Some workers could not believe Mr Field's announcement until he produced his certificate of appointment by the High Court on Wednesday this week. One worker demanded to see the manager, but Mr Field explained that he was there to control the "death" of the company according to the law. [Text] [Hare THE HERALD in English 24 Nov 83 p 4]

FOREIGN JOURNALISTS' ACCREDITATION RENEWED--All accreditation cards issued to journalists based in Zimbabwe will not be valid after the end of this year. A spokesman for the Department of Information says all foreign newsmen will be recredited for a 1-year period from 1 January next year. Old cards should be surrendered to the chief public relations officer of the department at (Mengwenda) House, first floor, Harare. Those on an assignment for a short period will be issued with temporary cards, and they will be expected to provide two passport-size photographs. [Text] [MB040538 Harare Domestic Service in English 1115 GMT 3 Dec 83]

DOMESTIC, INTERNATIONAL RADIO GOALS--The government wants to insure that the radio services reach all parts of the country, and in the peoples language. The government's objective was disclosed in Harare today at the opening of the seminar on management for programs and service ad (?youthful) programs by the minister of information, posts, and telecommunications, Comrade Nathan Shamuyarira. He said after the attainment of independence the government overhauled the broadcasting service, which was racial in orientation and colonial in material output. The minister pointed out that now four radio channels have been established to inform, educate and entertain the people. By next year there will be a fully fledged external service from Radio i channel, and it will be beamed in the regions to counter racist South Africa's propaganda. [passage indistinct] [Text] [MB060706 Harare Domestic Service in English 1600 GMt 5 Dec 83]

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